

# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

APRIL 1953

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# The National Municipal Review

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# NEWS for League Members

## \$5,000 Given for Building Fund

The National Municipal League's building fund got off to a substantial start in February with a contribution of \$5,000 from Mark S. Matthews of Greenwich, Connecticut.

A member of the League's Council, Mr. Matthews is one of three men appointed to the building committee by Henry Bruère, president of the League, at the February 18 meeting of the executive committee. The others are Richard S. Childs, chairman of the executive committee, and William Collins, chairman of the finance committee.

Mr. Matthews' gift is the first to be contributed to the building fund since formation of a building committee was authorized at the annual meeting of the Council held during the National Conference on Government in San Antonio last November.

Purpose of the fund is to provide the means outside the League's budget to obtain, recondition, equip and possibly maintain a building as a national civic center. A permanent home for the League would enable it to handle better the increasing demands for services caused by continued widespread civic activity throughout the country. It would make the League's unique civic library more accessible and would provide better facilities for committee meetings, civic seminars and workshops.

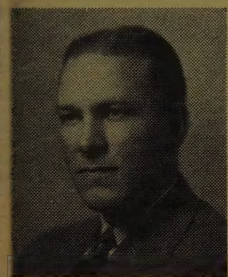
Mayor Richard D. Rogers, left, of Manhattan, Kansas, accepts an All-America City award from John B. Gage, League regional vice president, for the people of the city.

Contributions to the building fund are tax-deductible.

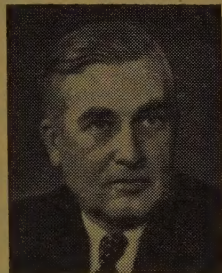
### *Edison's Article Wins Citizenship Award*

An article by Charles Edison, chairman of the League Council, has won a George Washington Honor Medal for 1952 (magazine article category) awarded by the Freedoms Foundation, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

Entitled, "Are You a Good Citizen?", the article appeared in the February 17, 1952, issue of *The American Weekly*. It was a condensation of speeches Mr. Edison had delivered at NML conferences.



Mark S. Matthews



Charles Edison







John Nuveen, second from right, regional vice president of the League, presents an All-America City award to Mayor Eric G. Hoyer of Minneapolis. Looking on are Gideon Seymour, left, vice president of the Minneapolis Star Tribune Company, representing "Look" magazine, award co-sponsor, and Gerald L. Moore, president, Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce.

## Citizens Praised for Vigorous Action

The vigorous, intelligent citizen action which led to the All-America Cities awards for 1952 was praised by representatives of the National Municipal League as most of the winning cities wound up activities connected with the presentation ceremonies and set about consolidating the gains they have achieved.

Following are reports on ceremonies not reported in the March REVIEW:

**Owensboro, Kentucky:** Before 200 citizens at the Hotel Owensboro, Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, presented the award on behalf of the League to Mayor LeRoy Woodward. Dr. Reed said that individuals, no matter how able, could accomplish little in the way of civic reform without community teamwork, and added that the National Municipal League regarded the Owensboro effort as an outstanding example of "community responsibility."

**Minneapolis:** John Nuveen, regional vice president of the League, was on hand at the Radisson Hotel to present the certificate. Mayor Eric G. Hoyer, who accepted the award, turned it over to the Minneapolis Citizens' Committee on Education and the Minneapolis PTA Council, whose members were credited with winning the award for the city. An editorial in the *Minneapolis Tribune* praising the citizens for their interest in education which led to the award was placed in the Congressional Record by Rep. Walter H. Judd of Minnesota.

**Woonsocket, Rhode Island:** An overflow crowd of more than 500 citizens at the Dreyfus Hotel heard Governor Dennis J. Roberts praise the "high character" of the people which made the award possible. Governor Roberts, guiding hand behind the home rule amendment which permitted charter re-

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## Editorial Comment

### New Beginning or Beginning of the End?

THE prospect of a 49th star in the flag for Hawaii is dramatic evidence of the power of growth planted in the constitution of the thirteen original "United States." The men who wrote that constitution could not in their wildest dreams have foreseen 48 states spread across the continent, let alone a 49th island commonwealth in the middle of the Pacific Ocean and a 50th state stretching far north into the Arctic Ocean and west along the coast of Siberia.

It is a tribute to their wisdom that their plan of government has proved so adaptable to the conditions and crises of the last 166 years. They naturally worried about the danger that the new ship of state might founder either on the shoals of anarchy or on the rock of over-centralization. The long-run tendency has been toward centralization. While it has not yet deprived the states of all independent power of decision and action, it has gone far enough to arouse wide concern over the future of the states and the desirability of an attempt to retard, if not to reverse, the flow of power toward Washington.

This flow cannot be affected by wishing, by brave speeches or by negative measures that look to the past rather than the future. The states themselves are partly responsible for their own weakness. In the face of scientific and economic developments that have favored, indeed

required, extension of national power, the states have hobbled themselves by a tangle of self-imposed constitutional and financial limitations. The resulting disabilities have proved particularly frustrating to our ever-growing urban communities.

It is good news that the Eisenhower administration is planning to establish a commission something like the recent Hoover Commission to study federal-state relations. Present official thinking appears to concentrate on some reallocation of federal and state tax sources and a "return" of some activities to the states. If important permanent results are to be achieved, however, the commission will need a broader mandate. No attempt to reallocate functions and responsibilities back to the states can be more effective than the capacity of the states to handle them in a manner satisfactory to the people. That is why Charles Edison, at the National Conference on Government in San Antonio last November, called for "a major national inquiry into ways and means of *strengthening the states and municipalities* so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government."

Any successful program must be affirmative in nature and based upon an understanding of the working of our system as a whole and a realistic appreciation of the capacities and inter-relations of its several parts — national, state and local. The prob-

lem of maintaining an effective working relationship among them in a changing world is one of continuing adjustment. Quick partial expedients designed to satisfy an unimaginative concept of states' rights will not do.

It is essential that the cities have a voice in shaping the future pattern of intergovernmental relationships. Despite the fact that cities are largely creatures of the states, the states have not proved to be adequate spokesmen for urban interests.

States have failed to adjust to the urban trend. Cities have been short-changed in terms of representation, financing and essential home rule powers. Again and again cities have found Congress more interested than their own state legislatures in such matters as urban redevelopment, highway planning to relieve city traffic and important phases of public health, welfare and education.

A major part of the task of redressing the balance of power between the United States and the states is to establish a better relationship between the states and their own municipalities. In the long run, city people and city governments will have more political influence in Washington than the state governments can hope to have. The reason

is as simple as counting the city votes that play a major part in electing presidents and members of Congress.

If the interests of the cities are not adequately considered in any program to readjust intergovernmental relations, the cities sooner or later will find a way either to circumvent or to modify the program.

In the last analysis, this is a matter for the people to determine, not the government in Washington or the states or the cities. Consequently, the president's proposed commission should clearly represent the public. That is the way to avoid what might be the fatal suspicion of an inquiry slanted in favor of any vested governmental interests.

There is much to be said for the long standing proposal for a permanent commission on intergovernmental relations. The inquiry about to be instituted should, therefore, be set up with the understanding that it is entering on a long-range, indeed, a never-ending task. A less fundamental approach runs the risk of failure and disillusionment which could signalize the beginning of the end of the American system of a nation made up of partly self-governing states and communities.

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### A Challenge to the States

**I**T IS obvious that television has important, perhaps revolutionary, possibilities for education. It is equally obvious that nobody knows just what they are or how best to develop them. For these and other reasons the air waves are an important part

of the public domain which should be carefully guarded in the public interest. The nature of the case requires that both the allocation and the regulation of TV channels be confided to the federal government.

A little less than a year ago the



Federal Communications Commission set a deadline for the states. Until June 2, 1953, 242 television channels are reserved for non-commercial educational TV. After that, channels for which firm bids have not been received from states, cities or non-profit educational organizations may be allocated for commercial purposes unless educational interests can persuade the FCC to reserve certain channels for a longer period.

So, in the discharge of its duties, a subordinate agency of the federal government delivers an ultimatum to the "sovereign" states. In the absence of specific congressional action this was the only way to bring the states into the act. That the states should be in the act is obvious, since it is a cardinal principle that education is the responsibility of state and local governments and that the federal government should have as little to do with it as possible. In view of the nature of state government and the administration of public education, however, the quick deadline set by the FCC is unrealistic.

Decisive action to take up all or a substantial portion of the channels in question entails a complicated process involving state and local school authorities, private educational institutions, interested citizen groups and the 48 governors and state legislatures. Educational policies and expenditures must be evaluated in each state in relation to other state and local requirements and the state's capacity or inclination to finance new projects.

A few states, cities and private educational groups have acted

promptly enough to have bids for channels in or on the way. Most of the states, however, seem to be dragging their feet either from sheer inability to react so quickly or on the plea that it's too hard to get up the money, or that the whole proposition is too speculative to justify quick and potentially heavy commitments. As a result, another vast part of the public domain may slip through our fingers with highly regrettable consequences.

Are we faced here with a problem which our federal system is too cumbersome to handle properly?

Must we, because of that system, forfeit what might be the educational opportunity of the century? Who knows that educational TV may not be the best medium for getting education out of old ruts?

Who knows that the original cost of educational TV may not be small in comparison with the long run economies it might make possible?

Who knows, for example, that it makes sense to strive, as hard pressed communities now do, to provide a classroom for the exclusive use of a single class of 25 or 30 pupils?

Who knows that the school of the future might not put less emphasis on individual classrooms and more on a variety of general purpose assembly halls and special purpose workrooms in which TV could play an important role?

Why should schools in remote places or in relatively poor districts be deprived of the inspiration of the relatively rare, especially talented teacher who now can reach only a few favored pupils but might through television reach pupils everywhere?



These are just a few of the questions that are not answered when a state commission like that in New York brushes off proposals for a state experiment in educational TV with the assertion that private stations can be counted on to develop the educational values in this medium. Whatever anyone may say about the quality of the education so far dispensed by commercial television, there is no more reason that commercial interests should experiment with or provide especially tailored television service to the schools than that private industry should go into the business of training teachers. Somebody has got to pay for it and it certainly isn't going to be the advertisers of national brands. It is unreasonable to depend entirely on private subscriptions or foundations. Do the states want the federal government to pay for it?

The only hopeful answer would seem to be two-fold:

1. States and other non-commercial educational interests should unite in urging the Federal Communications Commission to reserve a reasonable number of channels until June 1955, after the next regular biennial session of most of the state

legislatures. Since the Federal Communications Commission is under pressure from commercial interests that are sure they can use the channels profitably, the President and Congress might well be called upon to sanction a policy of prudent delay.

2. States and other potential purveyors of non-commercial educational TV should in the meantime prove their capacity to rise to the challenge of the new medium by carrying out enough well conceived experiments to provide a basis for sound decisions on remaining channels.

From a long-range point of view the whole episode indicates the necessity for a great deal more continuous and thoughtful attention in Washington, in state capitals and in city halls to the problem of what it takes to maintain a healthy balance and effective cooperation among the different levels of government. A permanent commission on intergovernmental relations, if adequately financed and manned, might develop into the kind of staff agency that is needed to facilitate the exchange of information and the joint consultation and weighing of alternatives that would result in more orderly handling of such problems in the future.

### "The Great Unwatched"

**I**N *Reader's Digest* for January appeared an article by Lester Velie entitled "The Great Unwatched." This was the first of a series of five hard-hitting articles on state legislatures, the last of which will appear in May. In these articles Mr. Velie, who travelled widely and probed deeply for his facts, exposes

relentlessly some basic reasons why the states have not been holding their own in competition with the federal government for responsibility, power and public esteem.

No republican government can long remain more responsible or more effective than its legislative branch.

(Continued on page 210)

# U. S. Aid at the Grass Roots

*Local self-government strengthened and brought up to date as valuable by-product of program in Greece.*

By H. F. ALDERFER\*

**L**OCAL government can be an important factor in the achievement of American objectives in those nations receiving American aid. This is especially true for undeveloped countries where government is too centralized and where the administration is found wanting. The United States needs the support of the thousands of locally elected officials if its aims are to be realized; it needs their help to administer the programs for which aid is given.

Too much reliance on the officials of the national government has led to frustration, instability and waste. Those in control of national governments are sometimes inclined to use American aid to support their own tenure in office and their own party programs. American Mission administrators are helpless in such situations because the United States in granting aid is dealing with a sovereign power which it can advise but not control.

But even where the officials of the national government cooperate freely and sincerely with American officials, as many of them do, still their administrative machinery is usually not adequate to do a real job in the hinterland and at the grass roots. In most of these countries, the in-

stitutions of local government are either underdeveloped, overshadowed by the national government or bypassed in the administration of American aid programs. Naturally, in programs such as the strengthening of the military organization of the nation or in broad economic programs such as the stabilization of the currency or the establishment of price controls, the national government is more or less exclusively concerned. But in objectives such as the rehabilitation of small industry, the improvement of agricultural output and the restoration of destroyed communities and their utilities, the cooperation and help of local governments, both rural and urban, is indispensable.

The over-all objective of all American aid programs since the end of World War II must never be forgotten. It is that the free nations of the world be strengthened to resist Communist invasion from without and Communist infiltration within. To do this the military defenses must be strengthened, to be sure, and economic production, both agricultural and industrial, must be increased. But this is not enough. The people themselves must be given hope and a belief that all that is being done is in the interest of the nation as a whole not only for the benefit of particular groups. The government that administers American aid, therefore, must be democratic not particularist, decentral-

\*Dr. Alderfer, executive secretary of the Institute of Local Government at Pennsylvania State College, was, from 1950 to 1952, local government specialist with the Mutual Security Administration in Greece.



ized not concentrated. For it is only in this way that political stability can be achieved. The Communist aim of starting revolutions within the nations receiving American aid can never be realized where there is truly strong and efficient local government.

The American Mission experience in Greece can be used as an example. This Mission was the only one within the Mutual Security Administration having a civil government division charged with advising the government on ways and means to improve its efficiency so that American aid could be administered with greater effectiveness and economy. Four years of German occupation and four more years of Communist-inspired revolution had lowered governmental vitality to a point of exhaustion; in fact, the immediate tasks to be done through American aid were so much greater than any Greek government had attempted at any time in its modern history.

It was agreed, therefore, both by Greek and American authorities, that improved governmental administration was basic, and that the institutions of local government—the 6,000 demes and communes of the nation—should be revitalized. For the specific purpose of rehabilitating the local units of the nation, two staff members, one a local revenue specialist and the other a local government specialist, spent the major part of their time between 1950 and 1952 on this job, working with Greek government national and local officials.

The condition of Greek local government in 1950 was almost hope-

less. Everything that had happened in Greece for 40 years resulted in reducing its freedom, its revenues and its powers. There were wars, revolutions, dictatorships, coups d'état, which led to general insecurity and exhaustion. Only the shell of an antiquated system remained. The local government code adopted in 1912 was a legal wilderness which no one could understand. Local units were given no specific or exclusive powers. Control over local officials and governmental action was excessive. Local revenue was almost non-existent. Since 1934, no local elections had been held.

#### Local Governments Improved

The program for improvement originally suggested by the American Mission called for more power, more revenue, more freedom and improved administrative practices for demes and communes. From the start there was enthusiastic cooperation on the part of the national government especially in the agency most concerned, the Ministry of Interior. Two important committees were set up by the Minister of Interior to revise the revenue law and to write a new general code for local government. Members of these committees came from the permanent services of both Interior and Finance, from the judiciary, from Athens University and from the city of Athens. The American Mission local "specialists" advised with both committees. Regular meetings were held for the entire two-year period between 1950 and 1952; subcommittees hacked out the details and set up the preliminary drafts.

The revenue law was the first or-

der of business to be completed. The provisions for raising local revenue from local sources were cleared up, modernized and streamlined but no basic changes were made. Revenue would still be raised locally from direct taxes on agricultural production, forestry products, sales of cattle; from dues and excises such as on the use of sidewalks and squares for coffee places, for the use of municipal property, works and services such as garbage collection, water or electricity; from contributions determined by council levied upon heads of families and on business houses; and from personal work by able-bodied men in communes up to ten days a year. These sources had been in general use since time immemorial.

The most revolutionary change in the local revenue system was made in state-collected, locally-shared revenues. Previously demes had obtained returns from the national government from a number of minor state-collected taxes, amounting to about 150 billion drachmas a year. Communes received nothing. By terms of the new law, demes and communes received one-half of the receipts of the state-collected tax on tobacco consumption (mostly cigarettes), which for the fiscal year 1951-52 was estimated at 320 billion drachmas. In return the national government would keep the amounts that had been returned previously from other taxes.

By this, the demes and communes stood to gain roughly about 170 billion drachmas, more than eleven million dollars, a year. The demes were to get what they had received

before from the national revenues, the remainder would be divided between all the demes and communes on the basis of population. The local units were to use this money only for public works and were to match it in terms of revenue raised from the regular local sources. Since the law was in operation, locally raised revenues increased five-fold throughout Greece and in some regions as high as 300 times, although in 1951-52 the actual amount of nationally-collected revenues returned to local units was held to 240 billion drachmas.

#### **Rural Public Works**

Another important development sponsored by the American Mission was the Community Volunteer Labor program for the construction of small public works in rural communities. Here the free, personal work of the inhabitants was combined with small grants of American aid moneys for material and equipment. Personal work for public benefit is an old Greek communal tradition and, after ten years of war and revolution, the need was tremendous. American Mission efforts to decentralize the control of this program resulted in placing responsibility for its direction in the hands of the nomarchs and their engineering staffs, which made the plans for the projects and assigned technically proficient foremen in the villages to carry on the work.

The program was highly successful. As of April 30, 1951, almost seven hundred such projects, mostly roads, bridges and water supply installations, were built or scheduled, at an average cost per project of



\$478. In 1952 sharply reduced American aid cut down the volume of the program but it continued to spark community initiative and activity.

An entirely new code for the local governments of Greece was drafted with the following principles in mind: (1) specific powers should be granted to demes and communes; (2) local units should be freed from excessive control on the part of the nomarchs and the central ministries; (3) the amalgamation of small and financially weak communes should be encouraged; (4) procedure, especially in finance and public works, should be simplified; (5) the structure and basic institutions should be preserved but strengthened; (6) all national relations with local units should be channeled through the Ministry of Interior; and (7) the morale of local government officials should be raised.

In the new code, these principles were faithfully followed. Powers of local units were specified, some given exclusively and free from control to the demes and communes and some to be exercised optionally but under regulations provided by the central government. The power of the nomarchs was restricted to seeing to it that decisions of local councils and actions of local officials were within the law; in only a few specified cases were they allowed substantive power over them. The code attempted to bring order out of the chaos of national-local relations by allowing control over local units only by specific grant of power, although the Ministry of Interior was given the power of general supervision of

local units, which was meant to be leadership, guidance, research and the development of uniform procedures.

A new institution of local government was added to the Greek governmental system. This was the Local Government Commission set up in the Ministry of Interior with power to approve all laws, regulations, decrees and administrative acts relating to local government that were brought forward by any ministry or agency of the national government. Thus these official acts would be screened before adoption by an agency set up specifically to improve the operation of local government. This commission would have as members officials of the Ministries of Interior and Finance, the High Civil Service Board, a professor of administrative law in the University of Athens, and a representative both of demes and communes.

#### **Local Law Revamped**

Thus, for the first time in the history of the modern Greek state, national relations with local units have been channeled through one agency in which local units have representation. In the new code, the entire local government law was refurbished and brought up to date. Even if no innovations had been included, this itself was a service of great worth for it would be now possible to find out the law by reading the code—impossible before. This code will be submitted to the Parliament elected last year and all indications are that the new government headed by ex-Marshall Papa-

(Continued on page 174)

# The Two(?)-party System

*Seems 'like a good thing' to keep it going even though there may be some question about whom it's good for.*

By HOLMES WELCH\*

RECENTLY, while getting a haircut, I learned a little about the way the two-party system works in Stowe, Vermont, where I have lived since 1949. The barbershop was empty when I went in, except for the barber, Albert Smith, and a peaceful gentleman who sits on the steps of the town hall in summer but moves for the winter to the warmth of Albert's stove.

The preliminary conversation was soon over; Albert and I disposed of the daily milk production of my Jersey cows, the barbering business and the prospects for snow flying before deer season. "Well," I said, coming to what, with Albert's approval, might be a good main subject for the day, "how much did Wayne Burt get in by?"

Wayne Burt, one of the town's leading citizens, had been renominated in the primaries of the week before as a candidate for state senator. People in other parts of the country might call him a reactionary, pointing to his record of opposition to social and labor legislation, but around Stowe they speak of him as "a good man to work for."

"Wayne got in by four hundred votes," said Albert Smith. "You

know, people don't pay attention to primaries the way they ought to."

I agreed, and suggested that primaries were particularly important in a one-party state.

"Yes, but people don't understand how they work," Albert said. "I was handing out the ballots at the polls and quite a few objected to being asked if they wanted a Republican ballot or a Democratic one. Of course, it don't make any difference. They can vote any way they want in November. One lady came in, and when I asked her which ballot she wanted, she said, 'I don't figure that's any of your business.' I told her she couldn't have both, but she still wouldn't say. Finally, I gave her a Republican one. Don't know what she thought when she got in the booth and opened it."

"Wayne Burt ran on the Democratic ticket, didn't he?"

"He got nominated on both tickets and won on both," said Albert. "You might say he's sure to be elected."

The Burts, and several other prominent Stowe families, have always been registered Democrats. I had often wondered why, and now I asked Albert.

"Well, they're *declared* Democrats," he said. "Of course, they most always vote Republican. But their *fathers* were Democrats."

"Why do they bother to keep it up?" I asked. "Nobody likes the administration less than they do."

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\*Mr. Welch, with a management and public relations counselling firm, was formerly with the Office of European Affairs of the State Department, later heading a community center project in Stowe, Vermont. His article is reprinted by permission, copyright 1952, The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.



"I suppose it's because they believe in the two-party system." Albert paused meditatively. "You know, I'm a Democrat, too. I got to be one in kind of a queer way. It was about eight years ago. We were having the party caucuses—both parties on the same night. Anybody can come to them, of course, though not many do. I was a Republican then, and I think we had ten that night. Joe Bashaw, the postmaster, and Neil Robinson were in the next room, alone, having the Democratic caucus. In Vermont you have to have three to make a caucus. So Joe came in and asked me if I'd step over so they could make it legal. I said sure, and ever since I've been a Democrat. But it don't amount to much."

"Do you nominate a full slate of Democrats for town and state offices each election?" I asked Albert.

"No, we don't bother," he said. "We just elect a delegation to the state Democratic convention. This year, we almost forgot. But Neil Robinson went down to Montpelier and got the papers, and we posted a notice about the caucus and met right here in the shop. Neil and I were the only ones that got here, so we had to postpone it till we could get hold of somebody else. We finally got Wayne Burt. We held our meeting and we elected ourselves to go to the county convention and then to the state convention. We had a good time. Met a lot of people."

"Who's president of the caucus?" I asked.

"Wayne Burt."

"Who's treasurer?"

"I am, but there isn't any money," Albert said.

"And secretary?" I asked.

"I am."

"And Neil Robinson—what does he do?"

"He's the regular member," said Albert.

"It's different in the city, isn't it?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," he said. "Down in Burlington and Winooski they even have Democratic majorities. The party amounts to something there."

"And in Stowe there are no Democrats in office at all—at least not *as* Democrats?"

"Well now, that's not exactly true," Albert said. "Take the Board of Civil Authority. You know what the board does, don't you?" I answered that it counted the ballots at town meetings. "Yes, it does that," Albert said, "and if you don't like your taxes, you can appeal to the board. It has seven members. They're the seven justices of the peace."

"I didn't know there were so many justices in a town of the size of Stowe," I said in some surprise. The population is seventeen hundred.

"Oh, yes. I'm one myself," said Albert.

"Can you marry people?"

"Yes, and try cases and sign warrants," he said. "I tried a case here last year when Parker Perry sued Dr. Lichenthaeler for the weather vane."

"I remember," I said.

"Anyway," he continued, "the Board of Civil Authority is chosen by the caucus of each party. The

Republicans choose four and the Democrats choose three."

"Who are the Democrats on the Board?"

"Well, like I say, I am. Then there's Neil Robinson and Harry Downer. A lot of people don't know *he's* a Democrat."

I, for one, certainly didn't. Harry Downer, who has a small farm behind his house in the village, gives an impression of vigorous conservatism. He is a Dry, and I have heard that, back in the thirties, he was in a group that successfully opposed building a new school with W.P.A. money.

My haircut was finished. I paid the sixty-five cents, with dime tip, and received, as usual, a warm "Thank *you*" from Albert.

"It's been very interesting," I said.

"Well, like I say, it don't amount to much," said Albert. "It's just to keep the two-party system going. Seems like a good thing to do."

## U. S. AID AT THE GRASS ROOTS

(Continued from page 171)

gos is most favorable to the general program of revitalization of local government.

A law was passed in 1952 setting up the Union of Demes and Communes of Greece, an organization of all local units of the nation, and a union of demes and communes in each of the 49 nomoi. The national organization has its headquarters in the municipal building of Athens, while the nomos organizations are in the capital city of each nomos. The

purposes of these organizations are to promote local administration, develop research and in-service training, distribute information, and to represent the local units before the national government authorities.

In short, these institutions are comparable in purpose to the state leagues of municipalities in the United States. But there is a vital difference: in Greece all demes and communes are compulsory members and their dues are by law mandatory in their annual budgets. During the spring of 1952, these unions were organized and the first meetings were held in each nomos. Here they elected their officials for the coming year and representatives to the meeting of the Union of Demes and Communes for all Greece held in Athens during the fall. Through these organizations it is expected that a broad in-service training program will be carried on each year. The municipalities of Greece are now a real part of the government and the nation of Greece.

The *Report on Greek Government, 1952*, made by the American Mission, ended on the following note: "Local government in Greece is a necessity for the continued existence of the present state. It has been improved; it can be further improved; it must be continually fostered and nourished by the state. It must be a vigorous and free institution and then it will be loyal and strong. Greeks are a democratic and freedom-loving people; they must be given the local self-government that will implement their democracy and their freedom."



# In Our Image and Likeness

*Attempts to superimpose American democratic trappings on Japan's local government have brought country new problems.*

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By **GEORGE A. WARP\***

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THE principal problems of Japanese local government grow out of the American efforts at democratization. At the beginning of the Allied Occupation, the Japanese system of local government had to be labeled a highly centralized system. There was a term in the Japanese language for "local self-government," and it was sometimes applied by Japanese writers in describing the Japanese system. But there was no local self-government in the sense in which we use the term in the United States.

In the conduct of the occupation, we assumed that local self-government was not only a desirable but a necessary feature in a democratic government. We made that assumption even though some of our democratic allies had highly centralized systems and even though the tendency in the United States has been in the direction of greater centralization. Most of our efforts in the local government field in Japan were aimed at the strengthening of the position of local units of government.

We probably went further in the direction of establishing American forms of government in the local

sphere than in any other aspect of Japanese life. We abolished the Home Ministry, which had general supervision of local government matters, because we have never had a Home Ministry in the United States. We wrote into the Japanese constitution a provision requiring that local executives be chosen by popular election. We ignored the fact that the tendency in the United States is definitely away from popular election of local executives and towards a method of choice which is not dissimilar to the old Japanese system. We imposed upon Japanese local government our system of administrative boards and commissions, which is under heavy attack in the United States.

We enlarged Japanese local legislative bodies and encouraged the development of standing committees to take an active part in administrative matters—much in the fashion of our own mayor-council municipalities. We reformed their local tax system on the American pattern, introducing our general property tax as the chief municipal tax and adding a few special features which tax experts have never been able to persuade governmental units outside of Japan to adopt. We imposed the American system of civil service commissions upon Japan and resisted all efforts to adapt it to Japan's conditions.

We fostered establishment of parent-teachers associations because we have such associations in the

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\*Mr. Warp is associate professor of political science and associate director of the Public Administration Center, University of Minnesota. This article is based upon the author's remarks at the National Conference on Government, San Antonio, November 19, 1952. Other observations by the author were published in the October issue of the REVIEW.

United States. We abolished the essentially democratic neighborhood associations because they had been misused during the war.

Those are just some of the ways in which we "democratized" or "Americanized" Japanese local government.

What has been the effect of the reforms which we imposed? It probably is not surprising that the problems now faced by Japanese local government units are remarkably similar to those faced by local government units in the United States.

#### Reorganization Problems

One of the major problems facing Japanese local government people is that of "administrative reorganization." The basic principles of our reorganization movement appeal to the Japanese because, if applied to the Americanized local government forms, they tend to justify a return to the old Japanese forms. And there is no question but that there is real need for streamlining the haphazard structure which developed during the occupation.

Another major problem facing Japanese local government people involves legislative-executive relations. The system of elected executives which we imposed upon Japan has created conflict between the local executive and the local assembly, and everybody is disturbed about it. Also, standing committees of the local assemblies constantly interfere with routine matters of administration. And there is a general feeling that the local assemblies are too large.

Another major problem involves intergovernmental relations. This problem includes the tendency towards greater centralization. We

directed the decentralization of Japanese government but that decentralization is more apparent than real. We abolished the Home Ministry, which had general supervision of local government matters. The personnel of the Home Ministry were highly qualified but badly oriented so far as democratic methods were concerned. When the Ministry was abolished, the personnel proceeded to disperse into the prefectural and municipal governments, and of course they carried their old ideas with them.

We soon found it expedient to replace the old Home Ministry with the Local Autonomy Agency. And the Local Autonomy Agency is now agitating vigorously for ministerial status. It is true that we did cut off some of the formal controls exercised by higher units of government over lower units of government. And, for the most part, those formal controls have not been reestablished. But in fact local units still look above them for direction and, what is more important, they still receive direction, even when the legal basis for that direction is somewhat obscure.

Another major problem is that of scarcity of local financial resources. Everywhere the writer traveled in Japan, he was told that this was the No. 1 problem of Japanese local government. Perhaps it is the No. 1 problem of any municipality anywhere in the world. Japanese local officials seem to feel that we aggravated their financial problem by reducing the grants from the central government and trying to develop local revenue sources, which simply are not adequate.

Another problem which is of great



concern to Japanese specialists in municipal government is that of "rationalization of local units." There is a feeling that there are too many governmental units and that the number should be reduced. There is a feeling that the number of cities has been increasing too rapidly and that the requirements for becoming a city should be made more difficult. And there is a feeling that the large cities should be separated from the prefectures in which they are located.

Fortunately, Americans had nothing to do with this problem. And there are factors in Japan which make the "rationalization of local units" about as difficult to achieve as it is in the United States.

#### **Efficiency Measures**

A final problem of Japanese local government is that of improving efficiency. Japanese local government people appear to be interested in the techniques of organization and methods work which have been developing in England and the United States in recent years. They are also interested in in-service training programs. In-service training institutions have been set up in two-thirds of the prefectures. In some of the prefectures, all of the governmental units—villages, towns, cities and prefecture—have joined together in establishing and supporting permanent in-service training institutes, which we might do well to copy.

The Allied Occupation of Japan, in a sense, was a gigantic technical assistance program. Advice on all phases of Japanese life was thrust upon Japan—sometimes imposed by directive, more often by express or implied threat. As a result of the

advice, Japanese local government now superficially resembles the American pattern—and particularly the pattern of a generation ago—because that seems to have been the pattern with which occupation personnel were familiar. Government Section, which was responsible for most of the governmental reforms, avoided the advice of persons trained in public administration and political science. The effective advice came largely from lawyers, business men and professional army officers. Few of these persons had any prior experience in government—particularly local government. In fact, few of them had ever had any particular interest in local government until they were assigned to Government Section. They were not aware of—or else they were not in sympathy with—recent trends in American local government. And they had only the scantiest knowledge of Japanese institutions and psychology.

There were some exceptions to these generalizations, of course. The Civil Service Division of Government Section was manned by a group of American civil service specialists headed by Blaine Hoover, who had built up the Chicago Park Board's personnel system and who had served for a time as president of the Civil Service Assembly. Hoover's group was competent in its specialty. But it was ruthless and uncompromising in imposing American forms and techniques upon the Japanese.

Other staff sections of General Headquarters brought over groups of specialists, such as the Shoup Mission on Taxation. Professor Shoup of Columbia University and six other

tax specialists visited Japan in the summer of 1949. They made a four-months survey; then they drew up a comprehensive reform plan. The Shoup mission's handiwork in Japan represents the virtual imposition of a modern progressive tax system which would be a credit to any western country. It is not irrelevant, however, to ask whether a "good" system of local taxation in the west is equally good when transplanted to the east.

Americans exhibit certain tendencies which must be amusing to foreigners, as well as irritating. First of all, we tend to regard American institutions as the best in the world and foreign institutions as inferior. Second, we assume that the institutions which are working out pretty well in the United States are readily transplantable anywhere in the world. Third, we have a tendency to generalize concerning our institutions on the basis of limited experience. If we come from the state of Indiana, for example, we assume that the institutions in Indiana are the typical American institutions and that variations from the Indiana form are exceptions, when the reverse may be true. And, finally, we sometimes think in terms of the American institutions of a generation ago rather than in terms of the American institutions of today.

Actually, local government in Japan today functions pretty much as it did before our advisers entered the picture. The forms have changed but the attitudes of the officials and of the people have not changed very much. And there seems to be resentment and criticism of the reforms

which have been imposed upon them and an inclination to subject the reforms to critical examination.

In December 1952, the Japanese government established the 50-member Local Institutions Research Commission to survey the operation of local institutions (chiefly those which have been affected by American reforms) and make recommendations to the prime minister. The commission, which will probably continue in existence for about a year, is composed of seventeen members of the Diet (the national legislative body), twelve local government officials, five national government officials and sixteen "scholars and men of experience." Tamon Maeda, Japan representative to UNESCO, president of the Japan Local Self-government Institute and of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, and former minister of education, will serve as chairman of the commission.

#### Return to Old Forms?

Some Japanese observers predict that the commission will recommend a return to most of the institutions which prevailed in Japan before the Allied Occupation. They base this prediction upon the facts: (1) that many of the members of the commission have backgrounds of Home Ministry or other service indicating a national government orientation toward the current problems of local government, and (2) that there is no unanimity of opinion among local government interests. Indeed, on many current issues, there is bitter conflict between the local government units; for example, the city mayors persist in urging the abolition of

(Continued on page 188)



# News in Review

City, State and Nation . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

## Drastic Reorganization Urged for Pennsylvania

### *"Little Hoover Committee" Renders Its Final Report*

**R**EDUCTION of 42 departments, boards, commissions and authorities to 12 and establishment of an "executive for administration" under the governor are high points in the report of Pennsylvania's State Government Survey Committee, which was transmitted to the state legislature by Governor John S. Fine February 24.

This group, popularly known as the state's "Little Hoover Committee," was appointed by Governor Fine in March 1952, and was headed by F. J. Chesterman, retired president of the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania. Six other members included two industrialists, two judges, a former speaker of the state's House of Representatives and a farm representative. A series of task force reports was issued late in 1952 and early this year.

The committee estimated potential savings over a six-year period of over \$100,000,000 to the state government if its recommendations are adopted. A part of the amount, however, would come from transfer of certain functions to localities; thus, a transfer of ten medical and surgical hospitals would account for \$10,000,000. Savings of \$20,000,000 as to personnel, a similar amount as to procurement policies and methods, and \$14,500,000 each by re-vamping educational policies and modernizing the state retirement systems were the largest portions of the \$100,000,000 total.

The committee's three chief recommendations are as follows:

"The establishment of a new management administration headed by an executive for administration reporting to the governor and functioning as a deputy to the governor with respect to the administrative machinery and business operations of the government.

"The establishment of a new Department of Accounting to formulate and operate a system of sound, modern governmental bookkeeping and accounting practices covering every administrative and operational unit of the state government.

"The establishment of personnel administration by such steps as the adoption of a uniform classification system for all state employees, the revision of salary schedules in the light of current economic conditions and the provision of job security for more professional and technical employees."

Besides the reduction of state departments and other agencies from 42 to 12, many recommendations dealt with the elimination of unessential services or facilities, also "improvement of operating practice in respect to purchasing, automotive management, records administration and personnel; the improvement of collections at institutions and on public assistance restitution claims attributable to fraud; upward adjustment of license fees to cover the cost of issuance; legislative changes in the school subsidy law; and improvement in the control of institutions."

### ***Governor Dewey Urges Manager Plan for New York City***

In a special message to the New York legislature on March 14, Governor Thomas E. Dewey strongly

urged that the city of New York give immediate consideration to the council-manager plan to improve the quality of its government, stop increasing city deficits and advance the welfare of its citizens.<sup>1</sup>

He proposed a state-sponsored commission to analyze the organization of the city's government and report on improvements that should be made. His message was the fourth and last of a series dealing with the fiscal crisis of the metropolis. He said in part:

"Our search for a better solution for the problems of the city of New York has been extensive and I make no claim to having found the perfect answer. Of all the possibilities it does seem to me that the one which offers the greatest hope is a basic change to a business management of the affairs of the city. I believe that a city manager form of government offers the brightest prospects to the people of our greatest city. Such a plan, obviously, cannot and should not be foisted by the state upon the people of the city. If it is to come, it must be as result of their own free choice.

"The state, however, can provide real help by examining the subject carefully and making recommendations which can be placed before the people for their own action. . . .

"One way by which it can be accomplished in the city of New York is by a petition of 50,000 citizens seeking amendment to the charter at a general election.

"Another way in which this reform could be achieved would be by legislation enacted pursuant to formal request by the government of the city of New York. There will be ample time between now and a special session of the legislature which I expect to call

later in the spring for the city government to make its request if it so desires.

"The preparation of such an amendment to the city charter would require the most careful study. In order to provide such a study I recommend to your honorable bodies the creation of a commission to make a complete analysis of the organizational structure of the city government. The commission should include representatives of both houses of the legislature from the city of New York and other distinguished citizens of the city. It should ascertain the improvements that ought to be made in the organizational framework of the city and report at the earliest possible moment."

On a strictly party vote the legislature approved the bill carrying out the governor's recommendations.<sup>2</sup> The commission will consist of nine members, two appointed by the president of the Senate, two by the speaker of the Assembly, and five by the governor, who will select a chairman and vice chairman from the appointees.

### **Maine Committee Charts Reorganization**

The 1951 session of the Maine legislature by joint resolution invited the governor to appoint a citizens' committee to study the government of Maine and make recommendations to the 1953 session. Governor Frederick Payne appointed a broadly representative group of twelve persons, including two legislators, and headed by Richard M. Millett, a public accountant. One of the legislators, Edward E. Chase, had been a member of Governor Gardiner's reorganization committee in 1930. Organized on April 28, 1952, the citizens' group held fourteen sessions before completing its work.

<sup>1</sup>See also "Administrator Urged for New York City," the REVIEW, March 1953, page 134.

<sup>2</sup>For other recommendations of the governor, see page 191, this issue.



As a starting point the group studied the report prepared in 1930 by the Institute of Public Administration entitled *Administrative Consolidation in Maine*, noting particularly those recommendations which had not been carried out. Many of the 1930 suggestions concerning finance, health, welfare and institutions had been incorporated in the so-called "Code Act" of 1931 and a civil service law was passed in 1937. Many other suggestions remain unfulfilled. Various new agencies, both large and small, have grown up in the intervening years, including the Employment Security Commission, Liquor Commission, Retirement System, etc., until there are as many agencies as there were in 1930, with the same lack of coordination, twice as many employees and a budget tripled in size.

The committee recognized the need for a comprehensive study of state affairs but because of lack of time it confined itself to a series of specific topics. Subcommittees worked on conservation, motor vehicle administration and state police. Various department heads, the governor, governor-elect and ex-governors were invited to appear before the committee. The executive secretary prepared a series of fourteen reports recommending action or further study on topics ranging from a state business manager to annual sessions for the legislature. He also edited a manual of 123 pages entitled *Administrative Agencies—Structure and Functions*, which portrayed for the first time the organization and primary functions of Maine state agencies by means of charts and brief textual explanations.

The "Little Hoover" report was submitted to the legislature February 4 and nine bills and resolves were introduced to implement the first five of ten recommendations.

The ten were: (1) creation of a department of finance and administration by expanding the finance department to include bureaus of property and treasury (at present it contains budget, accounts and control, purchasing, taxation); the head of the department would be a virtual state business manager, (2) abolition of the three-man liquor commission, to be replaced by a bureau of liquor merchandising in finance and administration and a division of enforcement under the attorney general, (3) removal of attorney general from legislative selection for two-year term to appointment by governor for four-year term, (4) provision of four-year term for governor in place of two-year term, (5) line budget for personal services and control of new positions in hands of commissioner of finance and administration, (6) construction of a modern office building to relieve overcrowding in the state house, (7) centralization of licensing and inspection services, (8) a new state valuation on real estate and personal property and revision of subsidy formulas, (9) continuation of the administrative manual, (10) provision for further studies to take advantage of the work done by the Committee. Among the topics suggested for further study the most vital are state personnel problems and the organization and administration of major state agencies such as highways, health and welfare, institutions, and employment security.

EDWARD F. DOW

Executive Secretary, Citizens'  
State Government Committee

### ***Constitutional Changes Studied in Ohio***

A new Committee on Public Affairs has been established in the Ohio House of Representatives, to give special at-

tention to proposed constitutional amendments. It replaces the committees on organization of state government and on elections.

Proposed amendments have been introduced in the legislature calling for four-year terms for elective state officials; one such proposal includes state senators, others would limit the number of terms for the governor.

The Ohio League of Women Voters has placed at the top of its legislative program the four-year term for governor and other elective state officials, with the appointment of a commission to study constitutional revision a close second.

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### ***Primary Election Reform Proposed in N. Y. State***

A faithful adaptation of the National Municipal League's Model Primary Election Law has been promoted by the Citizens Union of New York City, which published a descriptive report in 1951 and has now introduced it as a bill in the state Senate (No. 382, Halpern). Parties in New York State have internal structures and procedures of their own making although the state conducts their primary elections for party offices and nominees. The party rules by needless complexities calculated to baffle insurgency and buttress the party managements against dislodgement. Thus the government of the Democratic party in New York City is an elective "committee" of 38,086; in the borough of Manhattan the "committee" numbers over 20,000 and assembly district committees exceed 1000. The Republican city committee numbers 13,397. Behind these facades the district leaders are in fact self-renewing for generations, subject to occasional factional splits.

The proposed law sets up a short

intra-party ballot of an election district (voting precinct) captain and co-captain and the assembly district leader and co-leader. One pair or the other, with voting power weighted according to the latest vote for their party's candidate for governor, constitutes the state committee, the city committee and the committees for all lesser constituencies, with power to designate candidates for their own succession in party offices and for party nominees to all the public offices. Their designations must be filed 8 weeks before the primary election and appear on the ballots as "Designated by party committee." During the next three weeks other nominations may be filed by petition and will be identified accordingly on the primary ballot.

Conventions, now surviving for state-wide and judicial nominees in New York, would be abolished; the committees of permanent party officers who replace such conventions are numerous enough to constitute satisfactory party conferences and will be left unable to hide behind here-today-gone-tomorrow convention delegates whom they have always been able to control.

R. S. C.

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### ***New Jersey Assembly Kills Redistricting Bill***

On February 16 the New Jersey senate passed a bill to reapportion the assembly in accordance with the 1950 census. Governor Driscoll noted that if the measure was not passed before the legislative recess it would be impossible, for several technical reasons, to adopt reapportionment before 1955. He urged another session the same week to consider redistricting. The senate and assembly both adjourned for a month's recess and the senate bill died in the assembly.



### **Manhattan, Kansas, Simplifies Registration**

The city of Manhattan, Kansas, has installed a simplified system of voter registration to offset the laborious biennial task of copying a new register of voters to bring the interim additions and corrections into order. A descriptive brochure, obtainable from the city manager, describes the new system, a flexible visible file which is always in order despite corrections and easily separable to provide lists of voters and their voting record.

### **One Personnel Chief for New York State**

Administrative duties and powers in the civil service system of New York State, heretofore shared by the three members of the Civil Service Commission, are concentrated in the president of that body by a bill signed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey on February 25. It takes effect July 1. The bipartisan commission continues in existence with rule-making and appellate functions and the supervision of municipal civil service.

The new arrangement represents a compromise with a proposal introduced a year ago, also as an administration measure, for a single personnel administrator without a commission. This ran into strong opposition. The new measure was practically unopposed. Governor Dewey called it "one of the most significant improvements in the structure of a state agency since the general reorganization of state government more than 25 years ago."

### **Medico-legal Reforms Proposed in Two States**

A committee of the Medical Society of North Carolina headed by Dr. Wiley D. Forbus of Durham after several years of study has introduced

in the legislature a bill to supplement or replace the medical functions now vested in elective county coroners.

The proposed measure, prepared with aid from Dr. Richard Ford, chairman of the National Municipal League's committee, follows the League's "Model Medico-legal Investigative System" as far as the state constitution permits.

It would create a new seven-member Commission on Postmortem Medico-legal Examinations and Investigations including *ex-officio* the attorney general and the heads of the Department of Pathology of the Medical School of North Carolina, the Department of Pathology of the Bowman Gray School of Wake Forest College and the School of Medicine of Duke University (or representatives selected by them), plus a non-professional appointee of the governor, an appointee of the State Bar and an appointee of the State Medical Society. Terms are four years, in rotation.

The commission is to appoint a chief medical examiner who shall be a licensed doctor of medicine and a skilled pathologist with experience and training in the field of legal medicine, in the performance of autopsies and in the interpretation of pathological anatomy to serve at the pleasure of the commission at a salary of \$12,000. District pathologists with medical qualifications and county medical examiners are to be appointed by the chief medical examiner. Elective coroners would yield to the chief medical examiner exclusive control over the dead body and "paramount control" over any inquests and investigations.

Under the leadership of Dr. Daniel J. Condon of Phoenix, a bill (No. 68, Pyper) has been introduced in the Arizona legislature to provide a

modern medico-legal service along the lines of the National Municipal League's model. Informal support has been enlisted from various groups including the police and sheriffs associations, the justices of the peace association, county attorneys, the director of the State Board of Health and various members of the Industrial Commission.

The bill proposes a medical examiner appointed by the governor with senatorial assent for a 7-year term at a salary of \$12,500 or more and five assistants. All must be medical doctors with skill in pathology. The medical examiner is to appoint county deputy and associate medically-qualified examiners to perform all medical functions hitherto imposed on coroners and justices of the peace.

Maricopa County, comprising about 50 percent of Arizona's population, established an appointive medical examiner in 1952 with results which are attracting attention in other counties.

Pima County, the next most populous area, with over 20 percent of the state's population, is considering similar action.

R.S.C.

### ***Council Manager Plan Developments***

**Springfield, Missouri**, (1950 population 66,731) adopted a council-manager charter, 5,971 to 4,405, on March 17. It will take effect May 5, 1953.

**Wilksburg, Pennsylvania**, (31,418) has adopted the council-manager plan by city ordinance.

**Bountiful, Utah**, (6,004) adopted the council-manager plan in February, by ordinance.

**Buena Park, California**, with an estimated population of 6,000, voted on January 20 to incorporate as a city, with the council-manager form of government. The vote on incorporation was 1,234 to 696; on the manager

plan, 1,134 to 314. A council of five was elected and appointed a manager to take office March 2.

The city council of **Lake City, South Carolina**, (5,112) recently adopted the manager plan and has appointed as manager the former manager of Moultrie, Georgia.

**In Vinton, Iowa**, (4,307) the city council, upon the resignation of the city engineer, established the office of city manager and appointed the city clerk of Council Bluffs to the position, effective March 1.

The International City Managers' Association has placed **Manchester, Iowa**, (3,987) on its official list of council-manager municipalities. Manchester adopted a manager ordinance in 1915 but only recently have the manager's duties and powers been made broad enough for I.C.M.A. listing.

**Eloy, Arizona**, (3,580) has adopted the manager plan by ordinance.

**South Burlington, Vermont**, (3,279) has voted to adopt the town manager plan. The town of **Hartland, Vermont**, has also adopted the plan.

The I.C.M.A. in its 1952 list includes **Passadumkeag** (331), **Amity** (300), and **St. Albans**, (1,035), **Maine**, not previously noted here as adopting the plan.

The town of **Bennington, Vermont**, has voted 988 to 928 to abandon the manager plan. The town and the village of that name have each had managers. There appears to be a desire for a single manager for both.

**Middlebury, Vermont**, has voted three to one to retain the manager plan.

**Farmington, New Hampshire**, will vote on adopting the town manager plan at its town meeting on May 10.

Citizens of **Old Orchard Beach, Maine**, have voted to retain their council-manager form of government.

A bill in the **Massachusetts** legisla-



ture to amend Plan D so as to place severe restrictions on the city manager was defeated by the lower house on February 5. It was sponsored by a group of **Haverhill** residents and would have limited the manager to a term of two years and required him to attend all council meetings; penalties prescribed for city councilmen interfering with the manager in his duties would have been reduced; and city employees removed by the manager would have been enabled to appeal to the council (in addition to existing civil service protection).

Citizens of **Dedham, Massachusetts**, on March 2, voted against adoption of the town manager form of government, 3,393 to 2,657.

The **Brockton, Massachusetts**, Taxpayers Association at its annual meeting in February endorsed the council-manager form of government and instructed the board of directors to circulate petitions to place council-manager Plan D before the voters at the November election.

**Concord, Massachusetts**, voted 935 to 676 against a proposal to adopt the town manager plan at the annual town election on February 24. It is reported that another referendum will be held in 1954.

In **Geneva, New York**, a charter commission is revising the city's charter. Recommendation of the council-manager plan is a possibility. The League of Women Voters is conducting a series of discussions.

A committee in **Oneida, New York**, is considering the council-manager plan.

**East Paterson, New Jersey**, on March 10 rejected a council-manager proposal by a large majority.

**Southern Pines, North Carolina**, is to vote on a council-manager proposal April 15.

In **Jacksonville, North Carolina**, the Junior Chamber of Commerce has asked for legislation authorizing a referendum on the question of adopting the manager plan.

A charter commission in **South Miami, Florida**, is drafting a council-manager charter. The city has the mayor-council plan. The Junior Chamber of Commerce was instrumental in the decision to draft a new charter and has been supported by Mayor J. H. McConnell.

The city council of **New Port Richey, Florida**, has directed Mayor C. O. Friedly to appoint a committee of seven citizens to draft a new charter, providing for the manager plan, subject to popular vote.

In Alabama the Jefferson County legislative delegation is reported to be working toward legislation for a referendum in **Birmingham** on the question of adopting the council-manager plan upon filing of an adequate petition.

**Steubenville, Ohio**, will vote on a council-manager charter commission proposal on May 5.

The Indiana legislature has approved a constitutional amendment to enable cities to adopt the council-manager plan. It must be enacted also by the 1955 legislature, then submitted to the voters of the state for ratification.

**Elmwood Park, Illinois**, will vote April 21 on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

In **Sioux City, Iowa**, an active campaign for the manager plan is in progress and a committee has been circulating petitions. The Taxpayers Conference, the Real Estate Board and the Kiwanis Club have held meetings to discuss the plan and a mass meeting attended by some 600 people was held late in February.

**Macon, Missouri**, voted 1,211 to 541

against a council-manager proposal on February 17.

In **Maryville, Missouri**, the city council has set April 21 for a special election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan, following circulation of petitions by the Maryville Civic Improvement Coordinating Council. Maryville has a city commission of three members, including the mayor, who is also designated "manager," with additional salary.

In **Webster Groves, Missouri**, the Better Government Committee, headed by Jackson F. Adams, is working for the preparation of a home rule charter, with the manager plan to be given careful consideration.

**Fargo, North Dakota**, voted 4,377 to 3,757 on March 3 to abandon the manager plan.

**Paris, Texas**, which has the manager plan, voted 1,650 to 1,566 on February 17 for a commission to frame a new charter to be voted on at a future election. This move was interpreted locally as adverse to the manager plan.

City Councilman Wallace Benson of **Belmont, California**, advocates employment of a "city administrator."

In **Spokane, Washington**, Robert L. Meeks, candidate for commissioner of public utilities, advocates the council-manager plan in place of the existing commission plan.

In **Yakima, Washington**, W. R. Edwards, a candidate for mayor, announced that he favors formation of a committee to study the manager plan and that if the result is favorable he will endorse the plan.

**Richland, Washington**, which is owned by the federal government under the atomic energy program, is scheduled to be sold to its inhabitants, at which time the question of retaining the council-manager plan, now on an advisory basis, will be a matter for popular decision.

### ***Easton Makes Progress with Regional Plans***

Easton, Pennsylvania, a city of 35,000, is attacking its metropolitan problems, along with its six suburban neighbors, through a Regional Planning Commission, which faces the current year with a preliminary planning program and a body of technical data.

Until the era of postwar planning in Easton the only method suggested for dealing with the metropolitan problem was annexation, but by 1949 there was general recognition throughout the area that other means would have to be employed. The forerunner of the Planning Commission was a Regional Planning Committee composed of members of the local planning or zoning bodies. The main effort of the Committee was directed at the creation of a more permanent planning body for the region, and by the end of the year 1950 a constitution was drafted, submitted to the seven participating municipal governments and approved by all.

The constitution of the Easton Area Regional Planning Commission was drawn in compliance with the general county law of Pennsylvania and provided for appointment of members on a staggered term basis by their respective legislative bodies. The Commission's role includes the gathering of data, the conduct of surveys, the formulation of a "flexible regional plan," the development of educational programs, the coordination of the administration of zoning laws and the presentation of the regional point of view to the people of the area.

While the participating communities pledged some funds, Northampton County leaders indicated a willingness to consider an appropriation to the Commission if some type of work pro-



gram could be formulated. This led to a specific project list of eight items, mainly in the category of utility planning, which included a regional sewerage plan, regional recreation, highway, water, building code and zoning plans and studies to determine the nature of the operational agency needed to supplement the planning function of the Commission.

Progress has continued to an advanced stage. The Commission's 1952 report stressed that the potential of the organization "should stir the imagination of men to whom the waning practice of local self-government is held to be a cherished privilege."

PAUL A. PFRETZSCHNER

Lafayette College,  
Easton, Pennsylvania

### ***Phoenix Explains "Rule of Three"***

In Phoenix, Arizona, a council-manager city, department heads have been limited to the one person of highest grade in appointing from a civil service list. Moves toward a change of rules to permit consideration of the three highest on a list have been opposed by the city's employees. Under a plan approved by the Civil Service Board and the City Council a program of educating the employees in the "rule of three" is being carried out by the personnel director. A ten-page cartoon-illustrated leaflet, explaining the rule in conversational terms, has been sent to all 1,485 employees and a television program with city employees as actors has also been planned.

### ***Ontario Municipal Board Urges Area Federation***

An application of the city of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, for permission to amalgamate with 12 neighboring municipalities was rejected by the

Ontario Municipal Board on January 20, 1953. While not required to do so, the board took the occasion to recommend a federation of the municipalities in the Toronto areas.

A Metropolitan Council would be created and would take over major metropolitan services, including wholesale water supply, trunk services, arterial highways, public transportation, administration of justice, certain aspects of educational finance and facilities and of public welfare, metropolitan parks and recreational areas, regional planning and zoning, sharing of authority as to public housing and redevelopment, and control over public debt.

Local services would remain under the control of the existing 13 municipalities.

### ***U. S. and Canadian Mayors to Hold Joint Conference***

The first Joint International Congress of the United States Conference of Mayors and the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities will be held in Montreal, September 21 to 24 of this year. Following the formal sessions a three-day visit to the Laurentian Mountains has been arranged.

### ***Arizona City Managers in New Organization***

The Arizona City Administrators' Association was organized at a meeting of Arizona city managers and other appointive municipal chief administrative officers in Phoenix on February 18. Ray W. Wilson, Phoenix city manager, who was host to the visiting administrators, was named chairman of the new group, and Donald P. Wolfer, city manager of Tucson, was elected secretary-treasurer. The association plans to hold annual or semi-annual meetings, possibly in

conjunction with the conventions of the Arizona Municipal League. The meeting at which the new association was formed was called primarily for the purpose of giving the administrative officials an opportunity to discuss a number of their outstanding problems with Clarence E. Ridley, executive director, International City Managers' Association.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

### ***Wyoming Cities Form New Association***

Representatives of 16 Wyoming cities, meeting in Casper late in 1952, formed the Wyoming Association of Municipalities, replacing as the official organization of cities the League of Wyoming Municipalities, which has not been functioning for two years. A permanent headquarters has been established at the University of Wyoming, in Laramie. The University will furnish library and research services. The Association has been working on a legislative program. Mayor J. B. Janney of Sheridan was elected president.

### ***Cornell Course Will Train Future Managers***

A two-year graduate course to train students for city manager careers will be introduced by Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., next September. It will lead to a master's degree in public administration.

Students will spend more than half the time in business and public administration courses but will also study such subjects as traffic engineering in the College of Engineering; housing, zoning and regional planning in the College of Architecture; and the law of local government in the Law School.

The program will be directed by Professor Albert M. Hillhouse of the

Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, which will grant the degree.

### **IN OUR IMAGE AND LIKENESS**

(Continued from page 178)

prefectures and prefectural officials desire to tap some of the revenue sources now reserved for municipalities and to increase their controls over towns and villages.

Only time will reveal whether the commission will base its recommendations upon careful research or whether it will blindly urge a return to the old institutions merely because of the American labels attached to many of the present institutions. Undoubtedly, both courses of action will have support among commission members. The commission, however, is fortunate in having for its chairman so experienced and able and tactful a leader as Tamon Maeda, who has devoted most of his life to improvement of local government and who has a reputation for resolving conflicts.

It may be that, in Japan, we made a grave mistake in not accepting the old forms of local government. There was nothing inherently undemocratic about them. We probably should have tried to influence the development of a democratic spirit within the old forms. In this field, as in so many other fields of the occupation, we emphasized the trappings of our democratic system. We ignored the attitudes which are necessary to make it function properly. The lesson which we probably have not learned is that democracy is something which must grow from within; it may be encouraged but it cannot be imposed from without.



**County and Township***Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck***County Consolidation  
Proposed in Oregon*****Bills in Both Houses  
Would Cut 36 Down to 8***

**I**DENTICAL bills to consolidate the state's 36 counties into eight in 1956 have been introduced in the Oregon Senate by State Senator Richard L. Neuberger and in the Oregon House of Representatives by Representative Maurine B. Neuberger, his wife.

One county, Multnomah, would have its boundaries unchanged, but a companion measure would permit consolidation of that county with the city of Portland. The total number of state senators and representatives would remain the same, according to the Neuberger bills.

If the bill is passed, it must be submitted to the voters for approval or rejection at the next regular state-wide general election following passage.

Senator Neuberger is a professional writer, specializing in articles on local, county and state government which have appeared in the *REVIEW*, *This Week*, *Harper's* and other periodicals.

***Manager Plan Considered  
for Counties***

Several county grand juries recently have considered the appointment of managers for improvement of their respective county governments. The grand jury of Hall County, Georgia, has made a specific recommendation to this effect, and a similar body in Sonoma County, California, is making a special study of the subject. It is expected to report shortly.

The supervisors of Kings County, California, have discussed the desirability

of creating an office of executive secretary to the board in anticipation that it would evolve into a full-fledged position of county manager.

***Philadelphia Consolidation  
Commission Retreats***

As a result of a state supreme court decision, the Philadelphia Advisory Consolidation Commission has revised its original recommendation that the functions of the offices of clerk of quarter sessions and sheriff should be abolished, with transfer of their functions to the prothonotary.<sup>1</sup>

When the court ruled that the office of prothonotary was judicial in nature and hence outside the sphere of the home rule charter, the Commission dropped all reference to that office and recommended that the two former offices continue to be elective.

Civic agencies have objected strenuously to the change in recommendations and some have suggested that if the original plan cannot be carried out, the two officers should be appointed by the board of judges, which board now appoints the prothonotary.

***San Diego Transfers Health  
Department to County***

Although consolidation of governmental units in metropolitan areas commonly meets stout resistance, the transfer of functions from smaller units to larger ones proceeds with far less difficulty. A recent case is transfer by San Diego, California, of its health department to the county, which is estimated to reduce annual municipal expenditures by \$304,000 or about 10

<sup>1</sup>See the *REVIEW*, February 1953, page 90.

cents per \$100 assessed valuation. The county, however, is required to raise its tax rate 5 cents per \$100 to meet costs. City taxpayers, who also pay county taxes, will have a net saving of 5 cents per \$100.

Various activities formerly conducted by the city health department have been transferred to other city departments. They include inspection, dog pound and rodent control service. To continue its program of giving physical examinations to prospective employees, the city will pay the county health department \$4,000 a year.

R.S.C.

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### ***Texas County Officers Ask Four-Year Terms***

In a recent state convention, the Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association urged that all county and precinct officers be selected for four-year terms.

A resolution adopted argued that "the economy of county government is presently being jeopardized because tax, personnel, fiscal and administrative programs cannot be projected beyond a two-year period" and that "a longer term of office would increase the efficiency of your county and precinct officials."

The legislature and governor were urged in the resolution to submit the proposal as a constitutional amendment.

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### ***Pima County, Arizona, Rejects Local Option Zoning Ordinance***

Local option zoning for Pima County, Arizona, was rejected by almost 5,000 of the slightly more than 7,000 voters who participated in the special zoning election on February 10. At the same time, the majority of voters in effect endorsed the county-wide zoning ordinance adopted by the county board of supervisors on August 6,

1952. The zoning ordinance went into effect, nominally at least, with the official canvass of election results by the supervisors on February 16.

November 6, 1952, originally was the effective date of the county zoning ordinance, but the board of supervisors was forced to shelve the ordinance temporarily and submit the question of zoning to the voters because of referendum petitions submitted by a League for Zoning by Local Option Only. The voters were not asked to pass directly on county-wide zoning but to determine whether zoning be by local option by zoning areas. Participation was limited to persons who own real property within the county, provided they were otherwise qualified as voters.

The zoning ordinance was prepared by the Tucson-Pima County Planning Board and was adopted by the board of supervisors only after numerous public hearings. The movement to bring zoning to the rapidly developing urban areas outside the city of Tucson and of South Tucson, in which more than 100,000 persons now reside, started approximately fifteen years ago. Pima County is the second in Arizona to adopt a zoning ordinance under the zoning statute enacted by the legislature in 1949. Maricopa County was the first.

The ordinance will govern land use within the county, but outside of Tucson and South Tucson. Specifically excepted are lands used for railways, mining, grazing and agriculture. The law provides for a nine-man planning and zoning commission, which will have authority to conduct hearings on proposed changes in the ordinance or land classifications and make recommendations to the board of supervisors. The board is required to appoint also a zoning inspector and three boards of adjustment.

(Continued on page 194)

## State Adopts Program for New York City

### *Dewey Four-point Proposal Gets Legislative Approval*

THE four-point program of fiscal and administrative aid for New York City, proposed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey as a substitute for the plans suggested by Mayor Vincent Impellitteri,<sup>1</sup> was passed by the New York State legislature in its closing sessions. Two of the state's points involve matters suggested also by the city, but in radically different form; one had been mentioned by the mayor, but not requested; the fourth was for creation of a state commission to study the administrative organization of the city. All are permissive, with ratifying action required by the city before they can become effective.

Point one in the Dewey proposals is for creation of a transit authority to operate the city's subways. The mayor had asked for a transit authority but proposed a formula to finance it in part from property taxes, in part from a tax on business and in part from fares, which he estimated would not need to be raised. The Dewey plan calls for an authority which would be self-supporting from revenues except for debt service. Its governing body would comprise five members, two appointed by the governor, two by the mayor and the fifth by the other four. The state proposal includes disposition of the unprofitable bus lines by selling them to private operators, who would concurrently be allowed to raise fares.

Point two is for enactment of a constitutional amendment to raise the

city's constitutional tax rate limit from 2 to 2½ per cent of assessed valuations, but with accompanying legislation to provide a statutory limit of 2¼ per cent. This would provide an estimated \$50,000,000 of new money, half of what the city has requested from real estate to help meet an expected need of \$126,500,000 additional cash for the 1953-54 budget, exclusive of transit deficit requirements. In the event the voters failed to approve the constitutional amendment in November, the governor expressed willingness to go along with a county real estate tax, but only at a rate of one-fourth of one per cent, not 2 per cent as allowed upstate counties.

The governor's third recommendation is for a payroll tax on salaries and wages, with employees paying one-fourth of one per cent and employers an equal amount. It is estimated to yield \$60,000,000.

Point four is for administrative reforms to yield economy in operations and reduce the need for new revenues. The governor expressed preference for a city manager plan for the city, and the legislature created a state commission to study the city's organizational structure.<sup>2</sup>

The board of estimate of the city indicated its hostility to the plan as a violation of the principle of home rule and as financially inadequate. It began plans of its own to eliminate the subway deficit through operating economies, including service cuts.

### *Organizations to Study Defense Plant Tax Exemption*

Troubled by reports that the federal government and its Department of Defense have recently extended poli-

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, February 1953, page 93.

<sup>2</sup>See also page 179, this issue.



cies as to defense contracts which are costing local governments hundreds of thousands of dollars, the American Municipal Association, in cooperation with the Municipal Finance Officers Association, Association of County Officials and other groups, has started an investigation of defense plant tax exemption practices.

Under present federal statutes, federally-owned property is exempt from local ad valorem property taxes. The theory behind the exemption is the same as that behind the exemption of state and local property from federal taxation—intergovernmental immunity. Even before the war, however, tax experts were increasingly troubled by the growing volume of intergovernmental exemptions, and during the war special statutes were enacted to provide for government ownership of defense plants and equipment, thereby extending exemption from strictly governmental property to property held and operated by manufacturing concerns for the profit of those concerns. The practice was curtailed after the end of the war but reportedly is now being revived on a large scale, to the detriment of hard pressed local governments in defense plant areas.

Under existing statutes, real estate is exempt from ad valorem property when federally owned, regardless of what it is used for. Under this provision, government-owned manufacturing plants leased to manufacturing concerns cannot be taxed to contribute their share of local costs for general government, schools, protective services, etc. Similarly, personal property is exempt when title is vested in the federal government. Under this provision manufactured goods, raw materials, tools and machinery may be so handled under defense contracts that title nominally vests in the government, and the manufacturer evades payment of the taxes which normally

would be available to support a share of local government.

### ***State-Local Tax Burden Compared***

The relative impact of state and local taxes in the different states is often a matter of concern, especially in connection with assertions that taxes in a given jurisdiction are, or shortly will be, so high as to drive away business. Rarely, however, are available data on the subject assembled in such a manner as to make comparisons between the states feasible.

An interesting comparison of the relative impact of state and local taxes—in terms of income payments to individuals in each state—has been made by Roger A. Freeman, special assistant to the governor of the state of Washington.<sup>1</sup> It covers all 48 states, shows for each the dollar amounts of state tax collections, local property tax collections, local non-property tax collections and combined state-local taxes, as well as income payments and the percentage ratio of state, local and combined state-local taxes to income payments and the rank of each state with respect to the three key items.

For all 48 states combined, state taxes averaged 4.11 per cent of income payments, local taxes 3.94 per cent, and combined state-local taxes 8.05 per cent. In 30 of the states local taxes were a larger percentage of income than were state taxes while in eighteen (mainly southern states) the reverse was true. Nine states had state-local taxes exceeding 10 per cent of income payments—Colorado, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Dakota and Utah. Louisiana was highest, with 12.04 per cent. Eight states had ratios less than 7 per cent—Alabama, Dela-

<sup>1</sup>*The State and Local Tax Burden in 48 States*, University of Washington, (Seattle 5), *Pacific Northwest Industry*, January 1953, page 91.

ware, Georgia, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas. Lowest was Delaware, with 6.17 per cent. State taxes alone ranged from a high of 9.25 per cent (Louisiana) to a low of 2.15 per cent (New Jersey), while local taxes ranged from 6.43 per cent (South Dakota) down to 1.36 per cent (Delaware).

The technique of relating tax payments to income payments on a state basis was commented on here recently in the case of the report on Washington's state finances, *Your Dollar's Worth of State Government*, of which Mr. Freeman was the anonymous author.<sup>2</sup>

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### **Houston Saves With Central Buying**

Establishment of centralized purchasing and adherence to the practice of obtaining competitive bids promise to save the city of Houston, Texas, thousands of dollars on individual commodities, according to a report of the Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County. A new purchasing agent, installed as a result of a recommendation made in the closing months of 1952 by the Association, had in the first months of the year indicated that astounding savings were possible compared with prices previously paid.

At the time the Association made its recommendations, which included one that the purchasing department obtain at least three bids in each transaction, the neighboring city of Dallas had been found to be paying 30 per cent less than Houston for kerosene, 15 per cent less for penetration asphalt, 20 per cent less for concrete pipe, 15 per cent less for pipe fittings.

In the first month after adoption of the competitive bid system, Houston purchased 6.00 x 16 tires for \$11.66 compared with \$13.95 in late 1952,

saved 28 per cent on tubes for the same size tires, got galvanized iron pipe fittings for 40 per cent less than it had previously, and saved 15 per cent on diesel fuel.

Water meter connections in the three-quarter inch size, of which the city uses about 4,000 each month, had cost 56 cents. Competitive bids fetched a price of 46 cents each, a savings of \$400 a month on a single item.

Even more startling was the purchasing agent's experience with gaskets for the meter connections. They had been offered the city at prices ranging from 99 cents to \$2.00 per hundred. In the words of the Association, "The purchasing agent made an interesting discovery. He found that the 99-cent and the \$2 gaskets were identical. In fact, they were made by the same manufacturer." The city had been taking the high priced article on the theory that since it cost more it must be better. Now it is saving \$1.01 per hundred gaskets.

The city's experience with pig lead—used to caulk pipe and purchased in quantities when water main extensions are built—was even more startling. In October 1951, the water department asked for bids on 148,000 pounds of virgin pig lead, but received no bids. (This despite the fact that Dallas had reported no difficulty in getting lead after 1949.) Open market purchases were authorized by the city council, and by November offers were in hand ranging from \$21.30 to \$25 per hundred pounds, all accepted. In October 1952, the water department again needed pig lead, invited bids and got six, the lowest at \$13.80 per hundred pounds, the highest \$14.70. Yet during the same period, and during the final two months of the year, the city purchasing department continued its open market operations and purchased lead at \$18.30 and \$18.50 per hundred pounds.

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<sup>2</sup>See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 575.

The new setup is expected to eliminate this kind of operation for good. In addition to obtaining competitive bids, the new procedure calls for the grouping of city purchases and buying in large quantities whenever possible.

### **Local Pay Increases Continue**

Continued high cost of living is reflected in the fact that numerous cities are still authorizing pay increases for their employees. According to the International City Managers' Association, Cincinnati granted all employees a 5 per cent increase on January 1 this year. Previously, a survey had revealed that industrial pay rates in the area were up 5 per cent during 1952, despite a very modest increase in the cost of living. A percentage increase instead of a straight dollar increase was used in order to maintain supervisory pay differentials.

In Toledo, the city increased the pay of employees \$80 a year under an annual cost-of-living adjustment program.

A plan for giving city employees merit salary increases has been instituted in White Plains, New York. The merit program requires an annual review of the work of each employee to determine whether he ought to receive a merit increase for work over the normal call to duty. Under this program, a merit salary increase can amount to \$200 a year more than the salary fixed by automatic increases.

Lebanon, Missouri, at the end of 1952, gave each city employee \$120 if the employee had been with the city for the full year. Employees with less than a year's employment were given \$10 a month for each month worked.

### **COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP**

(Continued from page 190)

Shortly before the recent election, proponents of county-wide zoning petitioned the Superior Court in Pima

County to enjoin the board of supervisors from holding the election, on the ground that the referendum petitions demanding the special election contained numerous invalid signatures. The court denied the injunction but has not yet ruled on whether the state zoning law is constitutional.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

### **Maine Legislative Committee Reports on County Government**

On order of the Maine state legislature, its legislative research committee has conducted an extensive study of county government and made its report to the parent organization. Research for the committee was conducted by Professor Edward F. Dow of the University of Maine. His report,<sup>1</sup> published by the committee, makes the following recommendations:

"1. Judges of probate should be appointed. They are presently the only elected judges in Maine.

"2. Registers of probate and clerks of courts should be appointed by the courts.

"3. County attorneys should be replaced by appointed district attorneys.

"4. Municipal and trial justice courts should be replaced by district courts.

"5. Registers of deeds should be appointed.

"6. Sheriffs, county commissioners and county treasurers should be abolished.

"7. Jails should be integrated with the state penal system and supplemented by a jail farm."

The committee agreed with most of Professor Dow's recommendations, but took strong exception to his proposal to abolish the office of sheriff. Also, it favored continuing the election of registers of deeds, registers of probate and clerks of court.

<sup>1</sup>*County Government in Maine*, Augusta, October 1952, 103 pages.



**Proportional Representation***Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.  
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

**Compromise P. R. Bill  
Adopted in Massachusetts*****Act Limits Referenda on  
Repeal to City Elections***

A BILL to provide that a referendum to repeal P. R. in Massachusetts cities where it is now in use may be held only in city election years, and only once in four years, was signed by Governor Christian A. Herter on March 5. City elections are held in odd-numbered years.

In spite of the considerable interest shown by proponents at the February legislative hearing on P. R. bills, and the small amount of opposition there expressed, the proposed legislation to restore P. R. to its former position in that state as a system of election available for adoption by municipalities received a cool reception by the legislature.<sup>1</sup>

A bare two hours after the hearing the House of Representatives Committee on Cities unanimously reported adversely on all P. R. bills before it. These included not only measures to restore P. R. but also measures to abolish it completely.

This action was followed by remonstrances on the floor of the House by Representative Ernest Johnson, whose Worcester constituents were heavily represented, along with a large Cambridge delegation, at the hearing. Johnson urged that the legislature was showing itself as much opposed to civic reform and municipal home rule as its predecessor, which had been controlled by the opposite party.

Subsequently, evidently after some

negotiations with the political leadership, the measure referred to above was framed, filed by Johnson and passed both houses.

This measure fails to make P. R. available to cities not already governed by it and it likewise fails to raise the number of signatures necessary for a repeal referendum from 5 per cent to the 10 per cent that has been necessary for other referenda.

Worcester's interest in its method of election was stimulated by a debate at a meeting of the American Veterans Committee on February 3 between Mrs. Martha Lindegren, executive secretary of the Citizens Plan E Association, and Thomas R. Early, chairman of the City Democratic Committee. In answer to Early's charges that P. R. puts Communists in office, is too difficult to understand and too expensive, Mrs. Lindegren answered that P. R. had never put a Communist in Worcester's city government, that Worcester has set a record low for invalid ballots under P. R. (2 per cent as against 3 or 4 per cent in plurality elections) and that Worcester's last P. R. election was \$1,000 cheaper than its last plurality election because a separate primary election is unnecessary under P. R.

The recent recount to fill a vacancy on the Worcester school committee furnishes further evidence of the economy of P. R., the city clerk having stated that the cost of the recount would not even equal the cost of precinct workers alone and was much lower than the total cost of a special election. In addition to refuting the charges against P. R. Mrs. Lindegren stressed that under P. R. Worcester has enjoyed the best government it has ever had.

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, March 1953, page 146.

### ***Austrian Elections Bring Little Change***

The Austrian national elections were held on February 22 under a party list form of P. R., with a nationwide distribution of seats in accordance with "remainder" votes of the voting districts. Although the Socialists received 36,000 more votes than the People's party, the Socialists obtained only 73 seats while the People's party obtained 74. The results, however, approached proportionality to popular votes, as the accompanying tabulation shows.

A renewed coalition between the leading parties is again indicated, probably again under Chancellor Leopold Figl, who has enjoyed the confidence of the Socialists as well as of his own (People's) party.

Under the Austrian election system there are 25 voting districts. Each party ticket is awarded one seat in the National Assembly for every 24,000 votes cast for it in any election district. Those of the 165 seats not awarded on this basis are distributed to the contending parties according to the size of the nation-wide aggregate of "remainder" votes cast for each party, that is, total vote less the votes on the basis of which seats were awarded in the count by districts. No party may participate in the distribu-

tion of remainder votes, however, unless it obtains at least one seat on a district basis.

In comparison with the 1949 election, which was conducted by the same system, the Socialist party was the only one that gained in strength, both in votes cast and seats obtained. It gained six seats while the People's party lost three, the League of Independents lost two and the pro-Communist "People's Opposition" lost one. Because of the small size of the latter two parties, however, their losses are the more significant and reflect a marked decline in extremist and authoritarian influence.

The election was precipitated, some months before the end of the term of the Assembly, by a proposal of the People's party to stabilize the economy which was denounced by the Socialists as threatening to reduce employment and to curb inflation.

About 4,600,000 or two-thirds of the population were registered as eligible to vote, an increase of 200,000. Of those eligible, 94 per cent voted. In addition to the four parties mentioned, seven other groups presented tickets but obtained only the merest scattering of votes and no seats. The results, as reported by the *New York Times*, are given in the accompanying table.

AUSTRIAN NATIONAL ELECTION, FEBRUARY 22, 1953

Party	Votes	Percentage of Votes	Seats	Percentage of Seats
Socialist	1,818,811	42.1	73	44.2
People's	1,781,969	41.2	74	44.8
League of Independents	473,022	10.9	14	8.5
People's Opposition	228,228	5.3	4	2.4
Others	17,244	0.4	—	—

Citizen Action . . . . . Edited by Elsie S. Parker

## Do Schools Prepare Us for Today's World?

*Emphasis Seems to Be on Past Rather than Present*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is a digest of the remarks made by WILLIAM J. SHORROCK, editor of *The Civic Leader* of the Civic Education Service, Washington, D. C., at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, November 19, 1952.

**I**N many ways and in too many places in American education, we are turning our backs on the contemporary world. In one of our largest states, for example, the new American history syllabus calls for less than twenty lessons on current history out of a total of 160 lessons in the course. On the other hand, the syllabus recommends that more time be devoted to the study of the colonial period in American history. In some schools teachers have abandoned their efforts to discuss activities of the United Nations because they have been attacked for doing so.

What about citizenship education, the chief objective of which is to prepare us to live in today's world? In citizenship education we are studying recipe books too much of the time and failing to apply what we study in any significant or intelligent degree. The typical course of study in the United States today indicates that American history is covered about three times—once in the grades, again in the junior high school and a third time in senior high school. Through these courses we perceive the gradual growth of democracy in America. We study the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Con-

federation, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. We follow the gradual growth of democracy as a way of life and we find that it is good.

This is the recipe book. It is a good one and it is essential that we study it carefully.

If you were to ask our young people in high school about democracy, about American history, about the major institutions of our local, state and national governments, about their rights and responsibilities under our form of government, most of them would be able to give a reasonably good answer. That is, we are likely to discover that they are reasonably familiar with the correct definitions and the conventional institutions of democracy.

But if you were to ask them what the score is—what this all means in terms of life today—they would probably fail almost as badly as too many American adults are failing today. You would discover an almost complete unawareness of what is going on in today's world or, at best, only a superficial awareness. You would discover an almost complete unawareness of the fact that western civilization with its democratic tradition is at stake in a struggle for its very survival against world-wide forces of barbarism.

The recipe for democratic citizenship will become meaningful to our young people only through its application to the real-life situations of today's world. Where are we going to practice this citizenship we talk so much about? Certainly not in a world of 30 years ago or a hundred years ago or in our colonial period! We are going to practice it in the mid-twentieth century—in a period of scientific, technological and social change, the speed and consequences of which the world has never before experienced.



What do we need in citizenship education that is different from what we are now doing? We need desperately to spend more time studying today's world, and we need practice in applying the principles of democracy to today's situations. And that needs to be done in school, especially in our high schools.

Why can't we make the great touchstones of the American faith—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and many others—function for us in today's situations while we give increased emphasis to some of the important aspects of the world around us? For example, a well organized discussion of the western world versus the communist world can develop the basic tenets of our Declaration of Independence and Constitution with real meaning. What about the constantly recurring questions of labor-employer relations in our domestic economy? What does our history have to tell us about the rights of labor, the rights of management, protection of property and the public welfare?

Let's bring our history to bear on real situations. In another area, what about our electoral procedure for selecting a president? Is it in the spirit of our developing democratic tradition? What about Korea, China, Indo-China, India, the problems of the middle east and North Africa? Does our history provide any guideposts for the determination of our foreign policy in these areas? And just what do we know about these lands themselves? What about mutual security and Point Four? Are these policies of our national government within the framework of our democratic tradition?

These—and a host of other problems—are all vital matters upon which the American people are being called daily to render decisions. These important

decisions should be made by enlightened citizens who have firm convictions on issues that are of life-and-death significance to the western world.

By all means, let's study the recipe book of democratic citizenship in our schools, but then let's try it out by giving added attention to applying the rules to situations in today's world—the world in which we must live. While it is well to know the basic documents of American democracy and to understand the traditions of our forebears, we shall never be able to uphold our heritage unless we also know and understand the major problems and challenges of today's world. That is the crucial job of education for citizenship in our schools.

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### ***How Solve Problems of New York City?***

One of the organizations working for the salvation of its city is the Citizens Union of New York City. Recent publications include *Some Answers for New York City Problems—A Summary of Preliminary Reports Submitted to the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey*. Twenty pages in length, it gives a quick glance at recommendations, made by individuals and firms conducting studies, on civil service reclassification and the Civil Service Commission, schools, finance, transit, hospitals, police and fire departments, and water supply.

Another contribution of the union is *New York Needs an Administrator*, Report of the Citizens Union Executive Committee Based on the Work of a Special Committee to Study the City Manager Plan.

But not all of the union's activities are devoted to criticism and suggestion for change. It renders praise where praise is due—witness this comment from its news sheet, *Across from City Hall*:

### Subway Manners

With all the grumbling and growling (much of it justified) that goes on about the transit situation, it is a pleasure to be able to report what seems to us to be a real improvement. We refer to the new loudspeaker system in the Grand Central Station of the IRT subway. This loudspeaker sends forth gentle but firm comments whenever a train is in the station and whoever makes the comments seems to see all and know all.

It keeps pedestrian traffic moving quickly and quietly and expedites the movement of trains because of its quiet reminders to "stop holding that door" and "let them off first." It ought eventually to improve the manners of the subway riding public, too. The other night we heard it say, "Now, that wasn't at all nice, Mister." We don't know what the "mister" was doing nor which one was being admonished, but at least ten "misters" looked around furtively and stopped pushing!

### Membership Dynamo Retires

*Municipal News*, organ of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, pays tribute to Albert Hull, its membership chairman, on his 1953 retirement. When Mr. Hull joined the league in 1939, reports the *News*, the membership stood at 281. Now it is 5,200. "During that period Hull was largely responsible for the enrolling of about 8,000 new members from which must be subtracted the loss from deaths, moving from the city, failing to renew and a few folks 'who got mad at the league.'" The *News* feels "pretty sure that his Paul Bunyan record hasn't been greatly excelled, if even equalled, by any other single membership secretary in any other civic organization in the country."

W. J. "Bill" Morrow has been chosen by a committee of board members to succeed Mr. Hull. He was formerly executive secretary of the

East Side Commercial Club of Portland.

### Study Local Problems

*This is Your Community*, *News Bulletin* of The Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, describes the reports recently made by two of the organization's committees. The first report of the Health, Hospitals and Welfare Committee is devoted to conditions at Minneapolis General Hospital. The league will release through the press a series of reports on various aspects of the study. "Conclusions will be drawn and recommendations made only where the progress of the study warrants them. Otherwise, only facts will be presented to form a background and understanding against which citizens, as well as the public officials responsible, may better understand our final conclusions."

The second report comes from the Legislation Committee and deals with veterans preference. The *News Bulletin* presents a chart showing present veterans preference provisions in local, state and federal civil service, together with proposals for veterans preference as recommended by the Civil Service Assembly, a national organization in Chicago, and those of the league committee.

Citizens' Action, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, has published *In a Nutshell: The Story of Water Supply* (four pages). The article discusses "Where Can We Get Additional Water? Best Water? Least Cost?", "Higher Out-of-City Water Rates to Protect City Users," etc.

"The New Street Railway Franchise" is discussed by the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League in its January *Good Government*.

### Golden Anniversaries

Two citizen organizations announce the celebration of their 50th birthdays

in 1953. The Commonwealth Club of California, with over 7,000 members, was "born" February 3, 1903. Headed by Senior Past President Max Thelen, distinguished attorney and former president of the Railroad Commission, the club's 50th anniversary celebration committee is planning numerous special events.

The Chicago City Club announces 1953 as "Our Golden Year." A story in its *Bulletin* reports that of the original 177 charter members only four survive. The 50th anniversary committee is planning an ambitious program designed "to revitalize the club and enable it to serve Chicago more effectively in these crucial times." Highlight of the year will be a 50th anniversary banquet attended by distinguished representatives of national, state and local governments. Chairman of the anniversary committee is Vice President M. Edward Abram.

#### **First Birthday**

The Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis celebrated its first birthday by reporting a membership of 1,700, 500 of whom are active on committees. Among its activities have been the completion of a detailed study of the General Hospital,<sup>1</sup> writing of a general licensing ordinance,<sup>2</sup> and launching of studies on city finance, county assessment, transit regulation, city insurance and other city and county operations.

#### **Citizen Boards Studied**

"An interesting political development of recent years is the rise of so-called citizens boards, or authorities, or bureaus," reports the League of Women Voters of Atlanta. Results of the first steps of the league's study of these boards and the part they play

in local government are set forth in its bulletin, *Facts*, for January 1953. The article compiles the list of boards, "with data as to how the members are appointed, who they are, what they are paid and what their duties and powers are." Thirty-two such boards, with 209 members, are to be found in the governments of Atlanta and Fulton County.

#### **Voting Procedure Investigated**

The executive board of the Citizens League of Port Huron, Michigan, has voted to have a committee appointed by the league's president to "obtain information and actively follow up on the matter of improving voting procedure in Port Huron."

#### **Citizens Support Candidates**

Citizens for Good Government of Rock Island, Illinois, the group which successfully sponsored the council-manager plan for that city, will support councilmanic candidates at the spring election. Councilmen elected at that time will inaugurate the new government.

The Cincinnati City Charter Committee is asking its members and friends for recommendations as to candidates for the city council. Specifications for good candidates include: (1) integrity, intelligence, ability and desire to help Cincinnati progress; (2) support of the basic Charter principles of honest, efficient, nonpartisan government, civil service, non-interference with the administrative authority and proportional representation.

#### **Want Election Reform**

New York City civic and party organizations are mapping joint action to secure urgently needed election law reforms from the 1953 state legislature. Among those represented at a recent meeting were the Citizens

<sup>1</sup>See page 199, this issue.

<sup>2</sup>See page 203, this issue.



Union of New York City, League of Women Voters, Women's City Club, New York Chamber of Commerce, New York City Club, Liberal party, New York Young Republican Club and Affiliated Young Democrats.

### Plan Neighborhood Groups

"Recognizing the need for greater participation by the membership in affairs of the Citizens League [of Pawtucket, Rhode Island]," reports its publication *Know Your City Government*, "the board of directors has approved the organization of neighborhood groups—these groups will function as subcommittees of the executive committee. It is planned that each group have a presiding officer (or moderator), a financial secretary, a recording secretary and chairmen of a men's and women's division. We expect these groups to be instrumental in furthering the league's program for better city government." Listed are the groups with their neighborhood and temporary moderators.

### Twenty Questions

"How grown up are YOU?" asks the League of Women Voters of Hoboken. The league lists twenty questions which it asks citizens to answer—among them:

Would you like a boss to take care of everything? Do you prefer standing on your own feet and shouldering your responsibilities as a citizen in a democracy? Do you resent that you must constantly be concerned with city hall?

Do you think city jobs should be plums given to political hacks? Do you think city jobs should be filled by qualified people without regard to political affiliations?

Do you think fire works, parades, flowery oratory prove anything? Do you know that serious consideration

and discussion of problems is what counts?

Do you shrink and shrivel when local problems are spoken of? Do you discuss them soberly with neighbors and acquaintances?

Do you wish for good government? Do you actively work for it?

### An Eye on Council

*Spotlight on the City Council* is a new one-sheet publication of the Citizens' Association of Chicago, reporting current activities of council committees. The association is continuing to issue its *Zoning News Sheet*, reporting on proposed changes in the Chicago zoning ordinance.

### Manager Plan News

The Burlington (Massachusetts) Citizens Committee, supporting the town manager form of government, has issued a four-page pamphlet titled *The Town Manager—He Saves Your Tax Dollars*, which it is distributing to town citizens.

The board of governors of the Chicago City Club has approved a recommendation of the council-manager plan for Chicago, to be submitted to members of the legislature. The statement concludes: "The City Club therefore recommends that the state legislature extend the council-manager law, now applicable only to cities of 500,000 or less, so that the people of Chicago may have the right to adopt the council-manager form of government by referendum."

### Strictly Personal

The board of directors of the Hamilton County Good Government League has appointed Worth Yoder executive secretary, to succeed George Palmer, now associated with a Cincinnati law firm. Mr. Yoder, a member of the Ohio and Indiana Bars, was previously with the city manager of Dayton and the Standard Oil Company.

## Service to States, Localities Studied

### *Researchers Discuss Role of Universities*

UNDER the chairmanship of Roscoe

C. Martin of Syracuse University, the panel on "Technical Assistance for State and Local Governments: the University's Role," held at the National Conference on Government in San Antonio in November, touched upon numerous ways in which the academician can aid the practitioner. It was emphasized, however, that there is mutual benefit to be derived from contacts between the two: the teacher, for example, may be withdrawn from his cloister, may discover new subjects for research or may uncover gaps in the university curriculum.

Edward W. Weidner, Michigan State College, spoke of the need for analysis and evaluation of current government programs, pointing out that this can be done by university personnel. He described several types of in-service training courses: regular and special night school courses, student employment in summer or part-time work, university-conducted training schools in city halls or court houses, and campus training conferences for incumbent officials.

Victor C. Hobday, University of Tennessee, in commenting on research methods, reported his conviction that questionnaires are "unsatisfactory tools," except for use in the simplest of surveys. He stated further that, in his opinion, any extended research should be referred by the research bureau to other parts of the university, perhaps aiding them with funds, personnel or by other means. His re-

mark that the acceptance of research findings depends largely upon mutual confidence between campus and government agency was seconded by David W. Knepper of the University of Houston, E. E. McAdams of the League of Texas Municipalities and others, who agreed that the success of any of this joint work hinges upon understanding and good will.

William F. Larsen, University of Florida, and Wilfred D. Webb, University of Texas, proposed for the academicians several questions which have received too little attention: how are university bureau resources effectively allocated and directed into the most valuable channels? Should the work of separate bureaus be more systematically linked together? How can it be related to the efforts of the National Municipal League? What parts of American experience should be "exported" in technical assistance programs?

William J. Ronan, New York University, and York Willbern, University of Alabama, cautioned against answering certain of these questions too quickly or glibly, especially in view of the incompleteness of knowledge in the field and the overwhelming number of requests for aid that the universities receive yearly. Much remains to be done.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

### **Legislatures Review Budgets**

It is somewhat surprising to note that in at least nineteen states there are continuing agencies or staffs to assist the legislatures in reviewing annual budgets. According to a recent report of the Illinois Legislative Council, *Legislative Budget Staffing* (October 1952), there are certain conditions in which the legis-

lature is likely to emphasize its role as critic of the executive by forming its own fiscal research staff. Where there is a party split between executive and legislature, where a "weak" executive may be unable to present or execute effectively an authoritative budget, or in other situations, the legislature may feel called upon to play a more prominent role in budget preparation and review and in overseeing budget performance. This study contains a compilation of facts about the organization and operations of these legislative staffs in the nineteen states.

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#### Licensing Investigated

Four useful publications on the subjects of licensing procedures and practices for states and municipalities have recently appeared. Data on Iowa and Pennsylvania local license fees have been studied and the results published in *License and Permit Fees in Iowa Cities*, by the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Iowa, in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities (Iowa City, 1952), and *Municipal Licensing Practices in Pennsylvania*, by Thelma J. Showalter, published by the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs.

*The Wisconsin Taxpayer* for February, issued by the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, discusses the 350 licenses for various occupations issued by that state's twenty special licensing boards.

Finally, the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis has issued a first draft of a comprehensive licensing ordinance, prepared by that League's licensing procedures committee. This committee proposes a complete reorganization of the Minneapolis licensing system and its 100 different licenses. They criticize the present system which is based upon a hodge-podge of ordinances going back some 50 years, and they attempt in their proposed ordinance to establish a plan

whereby the granting or denying of a license should be an "automatic, administrative function."

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#### Municipal Problems Highlighted

In "The Need for Municipal Research," an article appearing in its *Listening Post* for January, the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities recognizes that "The need for factual investigation of the problems of municipal government is urgent and pressing. Innovations in municipal policy and practice have been so rapid and extensive that municipal officials have not had time to make the studies necessary to obtain a fresh view of the perplexing questions that continually face them." The federation announces the initiation of several research projects. It has launched a survey of federal-provincial-municipal fiscal trends with particular emphasis on the adequacy of municipal revenues. In cooperation with the Industrial Relations Center of McGill University, the federation is exploring the relationship of a municipal council as an employer to trade unions and is studying present wage negotiation practices and policies of Canadian municipalities. The third revision of the federation's municipal employees' wage and salary survey is nearly completed.

*Municipal Administration* for January 1953, published by the Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, contains two worthwhile articles: "Administrative Objectives of Building Regulation and Inspection" and "Quality Purchasing for a Small Municipality," by Robert H. McGregor.

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#### Law Surveys

A "Survey of the Law of New Jersey 1951-1952," appears in *Rutgers Law Review*, Fall 1952 (Rutgers University Press). Surveys of a year's law problems are issued in few states, and it is perhaps particularly significant that this one,



for the fourth successive year, comes from a state which has been said to have "the most comprehensive and the most efficient integrated court system now functioning in the United States." Among the 21 articles are: "The Work of the Judicial System: 1951-1952," by David Stoffer; "Review of the 1952 Legislative Year," by Alfred C. Clapp; and "Municipal Corporations," by Samuel Allcorn, Jr.

#### Local Costs Fall in Maine

The "real costs" of local government have fallen in some Maine communities since 1939, according to the February 1953 *Maine Managers' Newsletter*. Adjusted by the "price deflator," reported by the U. S. Department of Commerce in *Survey of Current Business*, July 1952, expenditures in Bangor fell from \$1,392,980 to \$1,244,484 in 1951. A similar decrease is noted in two other cities. These interesting figures are not adjusted for population changes, increase or decrease in services, and other such factors.

#### Training City Managers

The Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas has issued its *Fifth Annual City Managers' Training School—A Report* (May 21, 1952, 46 pages). The stories of the sessions on each of four days are told in some detail. Topics discussed include municipal insurance, how to delegate authority, a new approach to budgeting and the city manager as a political leader.

#### GRA Regional Meeting

The Governmental Research Association has announced that its regional meeting for members in New England and the North Atlantic states will be held at the Hotel Martinique, New York City, May 2, 1953. Major topics will be "Are We Getting Enough from the Property Tax" and "What Happens When a Governmental Researcher Becomes a Public Administrator."

#### Bureau Reports

**Association Highlights of 1952.** Brockton (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts*, February 11, 1953. 1 p.

**GRA and Its Job in '53.** By Carlton W. Tillinghast. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter*, January-February 1953. 2 pp.

**21st Annual Report.** New York 17, Citizens' Budget Commission, December 31, 1952. 52 pp.

**Your Tax Dollars.** Here's the Way to Do Something About Them. Syracuse, New York, Governmental Research Bureau, 1953. 8 pp.

### Research Pamphlets and Articles

#### Alcoholism

**Report of the Interim Commission on Alcoholism of Minnesota.** St. Paul, the Commission, 1952. 65 pp.

#### Assessing

**State Equalization of Local Assessments.** By Eugene C. Lee. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1953. 48 pp. \$1.25.

#### Civil Service

**An Analysis of Unrecognized Costs of Municipal "Fringe Benefits."** By William F. Danielson. (Discussion of city and village retirement plans, paid vacations, sick leaves, holidays, etc.) Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, *Michigan Municipal Review*, January 1953. 6 pp.

**Voluntary Civil Service System for the Courts.** Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, February 2, 1953. 4 pp.

#### Constitutions

**Constitution Amendments.** Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc., *CPEC Special Bulletin*, February 1953. 4 pp.

### **Debt**

**Management of Municipal Debt.** By John F. Tarrant. (Reprinted from the Proceedings at the 1951 Conference of the National Tax Association.) Sacramento 8, California, 1952. 8 pp. (Apply author, Connecticut State Tax Department, 470 Capitol Avenue, Hartford 18.)

### **Education**

**Public School Expenses and State Aid in Connecticut's 169 Towns.** Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditures Council, January 1953. 33 pp.

**School Board Back Again for More Money.** Lackawanna (New York), Tax Research Bureau, *Comments*, February 1953. 5 pp.

**A Single Proposition for Controlling the School Service Desirable.** (Relationships between schools and city government.) Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, January 1953. 2 pp.

### **Elections and Voting**

**The Mississippi Electorate.** By William Buchanan. State College, Mississippi, Social Science Research Center, January 1953. 70 pp.

### **Juvenile Delinquency**

**Administration of Juvenile Delinquency Control in Maryland.** Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, February 1953. 31 pp.

### **Labor Unions**

**How to Negotiate with Labor Unions.** By Rollin B. Posey. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, *Public Personnel Review*, January 1953. 7 pp.

### **Legislative Bodies**

**Legislative Manual and Fiscal Facts for the Sixty-Eighth General Assembly.** Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, February 1953. 52 pp.

**Report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Annual Legis-**

**lative Sessions.** Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, October 1952. 40 pp.

### **Legislative Councils**

**Third Biennial Report 1951-1952.** Oklahoma City 5, State Legislative Council, 1952. 165 pp.

### **Local Government**

**Local Government Review—1952-1953.** Martinez (California), Contra Costa County Taxpayers' Association, February 1953. 8 pp.

### **Municipal Insurance**

**Municipal Insurance—Basic Considerations.** By William R. Snodgrass. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, *Tennessee Town and City*, January 1953. 5 pp.

### **Municipal Officials**

**The Corporation Inspector.** New York 38, Citizens Union, February 2, 1953. 7 pp.

### **Personnel**

**A Month's Vacation for Policemen?** Brockton (Massachusetts), Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts*, February 6, 1953. 1 page.

### **Political Behavior**

**Research in Political Behavior.** Inter-university Summer Seminar on Political Behavior, Social Science Research Council. Menasha, Wisconsin, American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review*, December 1952. 42 pp.

### **Public Welfare**

**Changes in Social Welfare Financing in Kansas.** Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Government*, February 15, 1953. 3 pp.

### **Refuse Disposal**

**Municipal Incineration—A Study of the Factors Involved in Municipal Refuse Disposal by Incineration. A Field Study of Performance of Three Municipal Incinerators.** Berkeley, Uni-

versity of California, Sanitary Engineering Research Project, 1951. 100 and 65 pp. respectively.

### **Research**

**Inventory of Public Affairs and Social Science Research in the Western States, 1951 and 1952.** Compiled by Pamela Ford and Stanley Scott. Berkeley, University of California, Western Governmental Research Association in Cooperation with the Bureau of Public Administration, January 1953. vii, 113 pp. \$2.00.

### **Salaries**

**Salary Levels of Utah State Officials.** Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Brief*, February 7, 1953, 3 pp.

### **State Administration**

**The Administrative Organization of the State of Oklahoma.** A chart (in five colors) prepared by E. Foster Dowell. Oklahoma City, Governor's Joint Committee on the Reorganization of State Government, November 1952.

**State Administrative Agencies.** Constitutionally Prescribed Powers and Duties. Oklahoma City 5, State Legislative Council, 1953. 86 pp.

### **Surveys**

**Narrative Functional Description of the City of Houston (Supplement).** Houston (Texas), Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Inc., February 1953. 14 pp.

### **Taxation and Finance**

**Canadian Tax Take** (Dominion, Provincial, Municipal). Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government*, December 29, 1952. 5 pp.

**Income and Expenditures of Government in California 1910 to 1952.** Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Asso-

ciation, *The Tax Digest*, November 1952. 39 pp.

**Pending Changes in Constitutional Tax Limitations.** Syracuse 2, (New York) Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., *For the Record . . .*, January 1953. 8 pp.

**Reaching for Another Star.** An analysis of Washington state government finances 1939-41 through 1951-53 biennial periods. With current economic and fiscal data. Seattle 1, Washington State Taxpayers Association, *Research Report*, December 1952. 20 pp.

**Should Taxing Powers Be Determined at Home?** Duluth 2 (Minnesota), Governmental Research Bureau, *Citizen's Business*, January 20, 1953. 3 pp.

**Study of the Relationship between State and Municipal Governments in Iowa with Special Emphasis on Local Home Rule.** Part III: State-Local Fiscal and Administrative Relations in Iowa. Des Moines, League of Women Voters of Iowa, 1952. 13 pp. 5 cents.

**Taxation of Oil and Gas Production.** By R. F. Patterson. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Business Review*, February 1953. 3 pp.

**Tax Rates of California Cities.** 1951-52 and 1952-53. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest*, January 1953. 4 pp.

**\$388,324,415.** This Is Estimated Cost of 6-Year Capital Program. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, January 26, 1953. 4 pp.

**A Two-year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations.** St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, Inc., *Bulletin*, February 1953. 4 pp.



# Books in Review

**The Trend of Government Activity in the United States Since 1900.** By Solomon Fabricant, assisted by Robert E. Lipsey. New York City, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1952. xix, 267 pp. \$4.00.

Out of the welter of commentary—good, bad and indifferent—published on the subject of “Big Government” during the past decade, has emerged this useful volume by Solomon Fabricant. His purpose is to tell how government—local, state and national—has grown and why. The book will be useful to the social science teacher who seeks to explain why today’s problems of governing are different from those of yesterday. It will be useful to reformers and reorganizers who propose the substitution of newer forms and methods for horse-and-buggy institutions. The researcher will find it helpful, for example, in the statistical data it presents and in the comments on their gaps and general adequacy.

For the period 1900 to 1950, the author examines the resources (manpower, capital assets, expenditures and so on) absorbed in government activity and the shares of the different levels of government, in what the author calls the resource input. “The biggest part of the half-century rise in total input came not from the spectacular appearance of ‘new’ functions but, putting aside the effects of the cold war on national defense, from the more moderate but nevertheless substantial increase of functions already well established in 1900.”

Measured by input, the patterns of emphasis in 1900 and 1950 “bear a distinct family resemblance to each other. Measured by input, though not necessarily also by impact on the economy’s efficiency, there has been change, but no revolution, in the func-

tional pattern of government activity.”

Turning to the question of productivity and output, Mr. Fabricant points out carefully where his data are inadequate, but he concludes that “the long term trend in government’s productivity has probably been upward.” He hesitates to say how much of this expansion has occurred in the realm formerly considered “private,” but he feels that, from several standpoints, “encroachment on the private sphere has not been the major factor in swelling government operations, though it has surely played a substantial part.”

Most of the factors leading to bigger government appear to be different aspects of one central cause or group of causes: economic growth. Among these factors are changed population composition, increased density, technological advance, industrialization, urbanization, increase in the size of enterprise and the cycle of prosperity and depression. Add to these the international situation, itself in part a consequence of economic growth, plus some element of chance, and one has a convincing explanation of what has happened to American government.

In closing, the author repeats Wesley C. Mitchell’s 1936 prediction: “The indications seem to me fairly clear that in the long run men will try increasingly to use the power and resources of their governments to solve their economic problems even in those nations that escape social revolutions.” Says Fabricant, “What unforeseen effects increasing recourse to government as ‘an agency of national progress and social betterment’ may have, therefore, on the efficiency with which resources are allocated to alternative uses, on the rate of economic progress and, most important, on the character of the people and the limits

of their personal freedom, is the very real question which is being put to us."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

**Public Personnel Management.** By William G. Torpey. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1953. xii, 431 pp. \$5.00.

The scope of this new textbook is confined largely to organizational and procedural aspects of personnel administration. The author is personnel officer of the Washington, D. C., Naval Research Laboratory and is a part-time faculty member at George Washington University.

**The Cultivation of Community Leaders.** Up from the Grass Roots. By William W. Biddle. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953. xiv, 203 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Biddle, drawing on his experiences with community programs in midwestern towns and cities and in the program of community dynamics at Earlham College (Richmond, Indiana), discusses in a readable manner questions of cooperation and of leadership training. The scope of the volume is confined largely to smaller communities. The final chapter, "A Practitioner's Handbook," points toward a particular kind of community promoter. This is the one who, "Searches for the kind of organization that matures and frees men. Encourages growth of leadership ability. Promotes the experience of the community. . . . His motto might well be, 'Suggest, Wait and Act When the Group Is Ready!'"

**Final Report of the American Bar Association Commission on Organized Crime.** Washington, D. C., American Bar Association, 1952. 186 pp.

Like the National Municipal League, the American Bar Association converts

some of its findings into proposed models and this remarkable report includes a model anti-gambling act, a model department of justice act (proposing an attorney general or similar officer appointed by the governor with jurisdiction over local prosecuting attorneys), a model police council act (for securing interchange and joint action of police in a complex of contiguous territories, such as suburban areas), and a model witness immunity act.

This commission has been at work since September 1950, inspired by the Kefauver revelations. The pamphlet includes a nation-wide review of the reported temporary decline in organized crime in the summer of 1952, and a listing of local scandals and of outstanding failures of prosecuting agencies and grand juries to move effectively in centers of public gambling. Alternatives to suppression of organized gambling are considered and dismissed on the basis of their record in this country where conditions are different from those in England. Full texts of the models are included.

R.S.C.

**How to Conduct a Citizen School Survey.** By Merle R. Sumption. New York City, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1952. xv, 209 pp. \$3.95.

Here is a handbook for use by private citizens in organizing and conducting a survey of their community's schools and in producing a long-range plan to meet the educational needs of the time and the place. That such school studies have been increasing in recent years is significant not only because localities are becoming more aware of the impact of national and international problems on elementary and secondary education, but also because certain vested interests have been pushing their selfish points of view more vigorously in local circles.

One may hope there will be no repetition of the "Pasadena Story" elsewhere. Guides such as Sumption's are effective additions to the arsenal against that eventuality.

G. S. B.

**Transportation by Helicopter 1955-1975.** New York City, Port of New York Authority, 1952. ix, 157 pp. charts.

This impressive example of foresight explains that the helicopter "will expand air travel in the short-haul field. . . . The Korean War has advanced the day of the helicopter as a common carrier by five to ten years. Within the next few years, a ten-place helicopter will be used in common carrier service. By 1958, 30-place helicopters will be available." Then follow conjectures on routes and suitable sites for "airstops," "heliport" design, traffic estimates and fares!

## Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest and other departments*)

### *Accounting*

**Accounting for the Fluoridation of Water.** Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 2 pp. 10 cents.

### *Airport Financing*

**Airports as a Field for Revenue Financing.** By James C. Buckley. (Address before The Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, Municipal Forum, 1953. 10 pp. (Apply E. Joseph Scherer, c/o B. J. Van Ingen & Company, 57 William Street, New York 5.)

### *Crime*

**Annual Report for the Year 1952.** New York City, Anti-Crime Committee, 1953. 25 pp.

### *Federal Government*

**Report to the President.** By President's Advisory Committee on Management. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 20 pp. 15 cents.

### *Governors*

**Budget Message of Alfred E. Driscoll, Governor of New Jersey,** for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954. Trenton, New Jersey, 1953. 568 pp.

### *Labor*

**Strikes. A Study in Industrial Conflict.** With Special Reference to British Experience Between 1911 and 1947. By K. G. J. C. Knowles. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. xiv, 330 pp. \$8.75.

### *Libraries*

**A Survey of the Adult Department and Services.** By Stillman K. Taylor. Racine, Wisconsin, Racine Public Library, 1953. 27 pp. \$2.00.

### *Parking*

**Parking Meters in Pennsylvania.** By Thelma J. Showalter. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, 1953. 12 pp.

### *Planning*

**A City Plan for Glendive, Montana.** Summary and Conclusions, 1952. Denver, Colorado, S. R. DeBoer and Company, 1953. 104 pp.

### *Race Relations*

**A Guide to Understanding Race and Human Relations.** Prepared by Milwaukee Police Department for Police Instructional Purposes. Milwaukee 2, Mayor's Commission on Human Rights, 1952. 31 pp.

### *Special Assessments*

**The Special Assessment Today with Emphasis on The Michigan Experience.** By William O. Winter. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1952. xi, 183 pp. \$2.00.



### ***Taxation and Finance***

**Compendium of City Government Finances in 1951.** Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 126 pp. 50 cents.

**Finance Manual for the City of Manhattan, Kansas.** By W. Barton Avery. Manhattan, Kansas, Office of City Manager, 1953. 81 pp.

**Public Credit in Financing Private Industry.** Panel Discussion Sponsored by Committee on State Legislation, American Bankers Association, September 28, 1952. New York, The Association, 1952. 51 pp. (Apply Thomas B. Paton, Secretary, Committee on State Legislation, 12 East 36th Street, New York 16.)

### ***Traffic***

**60 Million Drivers Want Uniform Traffic Laws.** Washington, D. C., National Committee on Uniform Traffic Laws and Ordinances, 1953. 16 pp.

### ***Training for Public Administration***

**Educational Preparation for Public Administration.** A Catalog of Graduate Programs, 1952-53. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. 65 pp. \$1.50.

### ***Zoning***

**Zoning for Industry.** Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration*, December 1952. 4 pp.

## **EDITORIAL COMMENT**

(Continued from page 167)

There are many things wrong with state legislatures, including their cumbersome size, their outmoded two-house system with its invitation to buck-passing and manipulation by conniving lobbyists, inadequate pay for legislators, too little time in which to deliberate, insufficient staff services to prepare the factual background

needed for wise decision and their increasingly unrepresentative character as urban population grows and reapportionment is delayed from decade to decade.

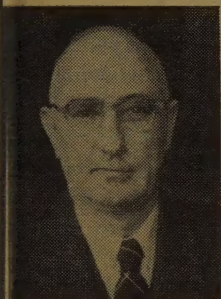
The United States government was designed by its creators for action to meet vital problems of a new and growing nation. Despite the separation of powers and checks and balances, it has proved capable of action and of growth to meet new and unforeseen problems. By contrast the states have been designed for delay and inaction. Distrusting their legislatures, the people have built into their constitutions all the inhibitions against active government to be found in the federal constitution, plus many others.

No wonder frustrated citizens have turned more and more to Washington as new needs for government have appeared. The temptation to turn to Washington has been especially strong among city people because of the unsympathetic attitude of rural-minded legislators toward city interests. The United States Senate, despite equal representation of the states, is a better representative of the predominantly urban interest in the country than are most state legislatures. This is so because a majority of the people in at least 30 of the 48 states are urban dwellers.

A drastic operation on state legislatures would be the surest way to preserve and strengthen the states as important, self-starting, self-regulating elements in our system. It may well prove to be the ultimate price of local self-government in America.

# Hillhouse to Aid Fiscal Law Study

A. M. Hillhouse, professor of public administration, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University, has been retained as consultant to the League's Committee on a Model Fiscal Program. The committee plans to publish in 1953 a *Model Bond Law, Model Revenue Bond Law, Model Real Property Tax Collection Law* and a *Model State Funds Investment Law*.



A. M. Hillhouse

Dr. Hillhouse is director of the two-year graduate training program for prospective city managers at Cornell. He formerly taught public administration at the University of Cincinnati and was director of research of the Municipal Finance Officers Association. He served as chief, Public Finance Branch, U. S. Military Government, Germany, later part of the office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, from 1948 to 1951. He is author of *Municipal Bonds — A Century of Experience* and *Where Cities Get Their Money*.

## Anne Mumford Retires

Miss Anne M. Mumford, an honorary vice president of the League since 1937, has retired as executive secretary of the Haynes Foundation in Los Angeles. She had served in that post since 1926.

Miss Mumford has been identified with numerous national and local civic organizations. The American Association of University Women, of which she had been a national officer, named one of its foreign scholarships after her.

## All-America Cities Featured on Television

"Mrs. U.S.A.", a daily NBC network television show seen outside the Metropolitan New York area, devoted its entire half-hour program on February 9 to the League's All-America Cities awards.

"The Baltimore Story", an Encyclopedia Britannica documentary film describing the slum clearance program which helped the citizens of that city win an award, was shown. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee, in a ten-minute interview, summarized the purposes and history of the awards and described other activities of the League.

## Dr. Cottrell, Former Council Member, Dies

Dr. Edwin Angell Cottrell, former mayor of Palo Alto, California, and retired dean of the School of Social Sciences at Stanford University, died recently in Palo Alto at the age of 71. He was a former member of the Council of the National Municipal League and assisted in the preparation of the *Guide for Charter Commissions*.

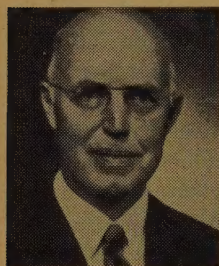
Dr. Cottrell was a municipal consultant and author of several city charters. He was graduated from Swarthmore College in 1907 and received his master's degree from Harvard in 1913. He taught at Penn State, Harvard, Wellesley, Brown, Ohio State and California before going to Stanford.

In Palo Alto, he served six years on the City Council before being elected mayor. He was a member of the California Loyalty Review Board and a trustee of and consultant to the Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles.



# Reforms Possible, Chicagoans Assured

Chicagoans can achieve good government with a "huge perceptive participation by voters and correspondingly diminished influence by politicians,"



Richard S. Childs

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee, told the Citizens of Greater Chicago at their first annual meeting February 26. But he warned them that it can't

be done without a drastic simplification of the voter's tasks.

"You have had civic victories here—victories that were followed by defeats," said Mr. Childs. "But the combination of frontal attacks with new techniques of clearing away the battleground has been winning not mere battles elsewhere, it has been winning wars." He pointed to political reforms that have been achieved in Kansas City, Cincinnati, Dayton, Richmond, Philadelphia and other cities—reforms made possible by an alert, vigorous citizenry.

The Citizens of Greater Chicago is a recently formed organization of civic groups in the metropolitan area having a total membership of approximately 1,500,000.

## Citizens Praised

(Continued from page 162)

vision in Rhode Island, said: "The action of Woonsocket citizens in establishing a new order in their political life should encourage not only the people of this city but of the entire state." The award was presented to Mayor Kevin K. Coleman by Richard S. Childs,

chairman of the League's executive committee.

**Manhattan, Kansas:** John B. Gage, regional vice president of the League, in presenting the award to Mayor Richard D. Rogers, expressed his amazement at the rapidity with which the citizens of this city so completely restored their community following the devastating flood. He was joined in these sentiments by L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, as 300 people jammed the Banquet Room at the Wareham Hotel to participate in the ceremonies.

**Miami-Dade County, Florida:** Dr. George H. Gallup, foreman of the award jury, congratulated the citizens of Miami for making "determined efforts" to clean up their city, as he presented the All-America certificate to Mayor Chelsie J. Senerchia in a televised program over Station WTVJ. Dr. Gallup praised the work of the Citizens Action Committee, which presented the city's case before the jury, and other local groups.

**Baltimore:** Dr. Gallup also made the presentation in this city. He told a large gathering at the Lord Baltimore Hotel that he was impressed by the "multi-platoon system" which made the success of the city's slum-clearing Baltimore Plan possible. The fact that the plan was the work of city government departments and agencies, many private organizations and many individual citizens indicates how profoundly the interest of Baltimoreans has been rejuvenated and focused on this vital community problem, he declared. An Encyclopedia Britannica film dramatizing the rehabilitation of a Baltimore slum area was premiered at the ceremony.